

IN THESE TIMES

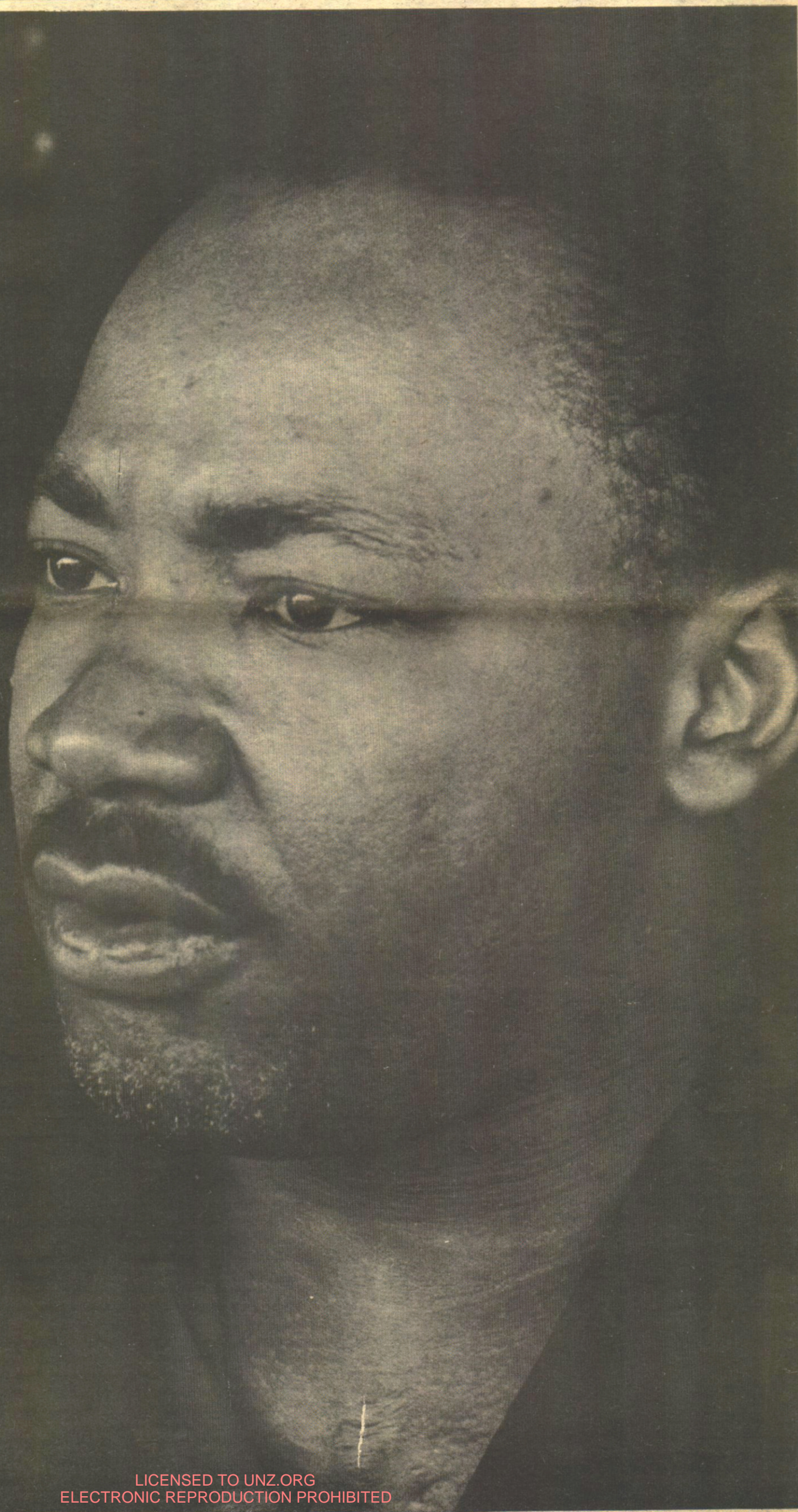
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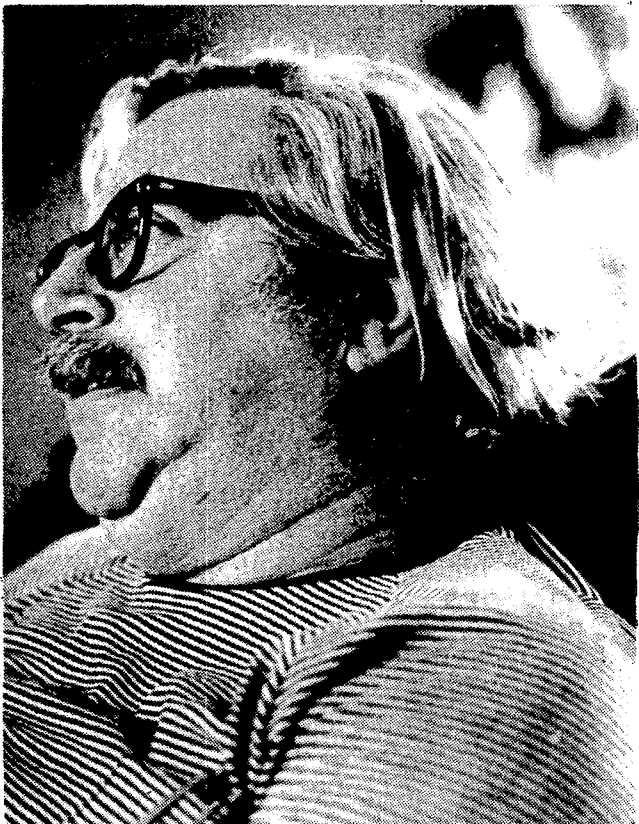
WHO KILLED KING?

OUR CORRESPONDENT
SPIRITS EYEWITNESS TO
SAFETY. SHE CLAIMS,
"RAY WASN'T GUNMAN."
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Carl Parrini

John Judis

Coming soon: A United States of Europe

The term "summit" used to be reserved for Cold War conclaves between American and Soviet heads of state. These meetings signified the seriousness of the conflict, which required top-level intervention, and a willingness to make concessions in order to avoid war.

In the '70s, the term "summit" has also been used for meetings among leaders of the industrialized capitalist countries, the fourth of which was held last month in Bonn, West Germany. The new usage reveals the extent to which conflicts among the capitalist countries have been moved to center stage.

Befitting the fact that these meetings are intended to alleviate deep conflicts among ostensible allies, they have been surrounded by even denser clouds of pomp and verbiage than their Cold War predecessors. Attempting to discover what occurred at the Bonn summit on the basis of its official declaration is like trying to figure out what people are like on the basis of what they wear.

Carl Parrini is a professor of history at Northern Illinois University and a veteran interpreter of Western economic diplomacy. His *Heir to Empire* was a path-breaking study of American imperial strategy from Wilson to Hoover. As we talked in the living room of his DeKalb house, he ranged back and forth from the 1890s to the 1980s and from Europe to America. What emerged is a picture of a capitalist world increasingly given over to internal conflicts with no resolution in sight.

World slowdown.

Parrini sees the recent summits, which began in 1975, as a by-product of the slowdown that hit the capitalist world in the late '60s. This slowdown was caused by a growing lack of profitable outlets of investment.

"As the pace of the world market began to slow," Parrini explained, "different countries began to pursue different stabilization policies." These differing policies led to conflict between the U.S. and its allies.

The West Germans took one direction. Unlike the Americans, they did not have to worry about unemployment. The burden of West German unemployment fell largely on migrant workers, who were deported back to their home countries. West German firms were also more amenable than their American counterparts to lowering their rate of profits to maintain employment.

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According to Parrini, some Volkswagen plants were kept open even though they were not making their production costs. The Germans could therefore focus their policies on resisting inflation.

They did so by keeping budget deficits and domestic demand down. Besides curbing inflation, these policies led to a surplus of exports over imports. This West German trade surplus, along with the similarly-induced Japanese surplus, became a target for American export resentments.

The U.S., on the other hand, has had to meet demands from unemployed workers and from corporations that have wanted to protect their high rates of profit from rising wages. The result has been a "stop-go" policy in which the Treasury has used budget expenditures and deficits to create jobs while attempting through informal means to keep wages down.

Treasury policies have created more demand at home and higher prices. As a result, imports have consistently exceeded exports, with oil imports playing a growing role. As dollars have accumulated in foreign hands, the value of the dollar has fallen.

Rising oil imports have made life more difficult for Japan and Western European countries that must import their oil. Growing American demand for foreign oil keeps the price going up. "The Europeans charge that we are exporting our inflation to them," Parrini said. And the shrinking dollar consistently lowers the price of American exports, making them more competitive with West German and Japanese goods.

During past slowdowns this century, capitalist countries were not able to resolve conflicts over national economic policy over the bargaining table. By creating exclusive currency blocs and throwing up trade barriers, they attempted to insulate themselves from each other. But the effect of these measures was to constrict the world market still further, leading to depression and World Wars I and II.

The economic summits were devised to prevent a repetition of trade wars and currency blocs. More immediately, their purpose, in American eyes, has been "to limit the degree of protectionist response to American dollar pressure," said Parrini.

Marginal promises.

At the Bonn summit, the U.S. promised to reduce its oil imports and budget deficits, and Germany and Japan promised to reduce their trade surpluses by stimulating their economies. But the pledges were sufficiently vague and qualified to amount to nothing more than "marginal promises on both sides." "About all they accomplished," Parrini remarked, "was to promise not to do anything that would radically interfere with the degree of market activity that exists right now."

The most important event, Parrini believes, occurred on the eve of the Summit, when the European Common Market countries met at Bremen to plan a European Currency Union that would collectively stabilize their currencies against the falling dollar, probably with the German mark as its internal standard. This new plan was briefly alluded to in the last section of the Bonn declaration.

If the currency union is installed in 1979, as planned, the American dollar will become less competitive in Europe. "It will make Europeans do more of their business in the mark and the franc than in dollars," Parrini commented. "If the French have to choose between buying a machine in Bremen or in Schenectady, they'll buy it in Bremen because they do more business in marks than in dollars and won't want to pay the costs of exchange."

The eventual target of the currency union will be oil prices. "So long as the oil countries hold their reserves in dollars, the Europeans are going to have a hard time cutting their petroleum costs," Parrini explained. "But if the European currency union leads to a situation

where the oil countries can buy their capital goods and their food supplies from Europe at lower prices in marks and francs than they can from the U.S. in dollars, then there will be pressure to change the unit of account and the reserve currency. They might begin to sell in francs and marks."

Parrini terms the currency plan "the first significant step toward European protectionism." He sees its creation as a step towards a United States of Europe, a plan that Germany introduced in the 1890s, but for which it was never able to gain continental support.

Third World Marshall Plan.

Parrini does not believe the slide toward protectionism and deeper depression is inevitable, but he sees political obstacles in the way of any current alternative.

The most viable alternative, he believes, is the plan that Common Market head Roy Jenkins unveiled last year for a Marshall Plan for the Third World. The industrial capitalist countries would tax their populations, particularly the banks and corporations, to create a capital fund that could be used to finance economic development in the Third World. The economic development of the Third World would, in turn, stimulate demand and investment in the capitalist countries.

Parrini believes such a plan could work, but he doesn't think that American corporate leaders would support it. "The banks and corporations are against this kind of program for ideological reasons," he said. "If the state has to tax accumulated capital and then put it out on state loan, that means that the corporations and banks can't manage the investment system. And once you start to build power plants in Algeria with public funds, why not build these things here with public funds? In other words, it sets a bad example."

Parrini also thinks that there are immediate ways that the U.S. can maintain and even increase its competitive edge over Western Europe and Japan, but that political opposition again stands in the way.

"If you cut the American defense budget by \$100 billion," Parrini contended, "American costs would again be lower than anybody else's. Roughly \$30 billion would go to wage earners, the other \$70 billion would go to corporations. Give them \$70 billion and they can cut their industrial prices by \$70 billion and still enjoy 14 or 15 percent profit on invested capital, six or seven times higher than the Europeans."

According to Parrini, the U.S. could also cut its profit margins from 15 to 10 percent, cut prices and still make more than our European counterparts, even with our existing defense budget.

But in both cases, opposition is presently too great. To reduce defense spending, the U.S. would have to get Japan and the NATO allies to assume the burden, but they are unwilling to do so. And American corporate managers will not accept lower profit margins.

Instead, corporate leaders insist there is only one solution to American economic woes: controlling wages. While such a solution looks rational to the individual corporate head concerned about raising a 7 or 8 percent rate of return, it is irrational for the system as a whole. "Cutting back on wages cuts back on effective demand," Parrini explained. "That is not going to make investments more profitable or increase investment propensities."

With all the rational solutions ruled out, Carter can not be blamed, Parrini maintains, for the continuing inflation and unemployment. "I don't think the Carter people are more inefficient than the Ford or Nixon people," Parrini said. "They are dealing with problems that have no solution. You know, at one time the U.S. would have said to the oil countries, 'If you double your prices, we'll overthrow your regime.' We can't do it anymore. The risks are too great."

"Up until now, it has looked like there were technical solutions to every problem, but now there aren't any."

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IN THE NATION

LABOR

Coalition tries to reopen steel plant

By David Moberg

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

IT ISN'T GOING TO WORK, IS IT?" Mike Vodilko, for 41 years a worker in the steel mills of Youngstown, Ohio, had dropped into the storefront office of the Save Our Valley campaign along the city's main downtown street, bleak with empty windows but bustling with urban renewal construction of a new mall.

A large, bald, friendly man with a white moustache, Vodilko revealed contradictory feelings about the attempt to re-open the portion of the Campbell works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube that was abruptly shut down last September 19, throwing nearly 5,000 workers onto the streets. For months he and others in Youngstown had heard the reports of interim studies, along with the daily choruses of rumors, about the proposed worker-community ownership of the mill. Their sentiments over the months shifted from shock to bitterness as it became clear that the Lykes conglomerate had milked the Campbell factory to cover expenses of its empire-building merger while neglecting to modernize or even maintain the aged facilities.

Vodilko hoped that the community-worker takeover could succeed. His son-in-law was one of those thrown out of work. Also, U.S. Steel had warned that his own job at the Ohio Works could end any time, although Vodilko couldn't bring himself to believe that it would really happen.

Much as he was preoccupied with these threats, much as he hoped for the salvation of the Campbell mill, he could not risk too much faith on the long-shot chance that a bunch of steelworkers, along with the community, could actually own and run their own mill. But he went along with the Save Our Valley drive, a campaign asking people to open up special savings accounts that demonstrated their interest in buying out the shuttered factory.

"I've got an account for all my grandkids," he said, "\$20 each for the four of them. We all hope for it. But we're skeptical. It isn't going to work, is it?"

Political obstacles.

Nobody really knows the answer to Mike Vodilko's question. However, a preliminary report done by the National Center for Economic Alternatives for the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley, working with a \$300,000 grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, concluded that "the Campbell Works can be reopened and operated as a profitable basic steel manufacturer under community/employee ownership."

A final report is expected by the beginning of September. The main barriers to success at this point are not technology, economics or corporate structure, questions researched by the National Center; rather they are political. Will Carter decide to make this worker-community ownership experiment a model approach to the ills of the older cities of the Northeast and Midwest? Or will he let Youngstown drop dead?

Leaders of the investigation of worker-community ownership, the clergy who make up the Ecumenical Coalition, will plead their case with Vice President Walter Mondale next week. Lesser administration officials have already encouraged the Youngstown project.

But the Carter administration has also dealt the plan its most serious setback since the idea of worker-community control was raised by young steelworker Gerald Dickey in meetings following the plant



Photos/Paul R. Schell



Top: Members of the Save Our Valley campaign tour the Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Brier Hill facility. Bottom: Youngstown's mayor, J. Phillip Richley (left) and Fr. Edward Stanton seek federal support for community-worker ownership plan.

When Youngstown Sheet and Tube closed down in November, 5,000 lost their jobs. Workers in the community now want to buy and run the plant.

shutdown. In late June Attorney General Griffin Bell, acting against the advice of the Justice Department antitrust division, approved the merger of the Lykes Corp., owner of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, with LTV Corp., a conglomerate that controls Jones & Laughlin Steel.

On the surface, antitrust lawyers argue, the merger was clearly illegal. But the companies appealed to the "failing company" provision in the law. This allows a company to merge if it would otherwise go out of business. However, despite its numerous problems, Lykes is not a "failing company": it reported a second quarter profit of \$7.6 million.

The merger approval is rapidly turning into a scandal. "This is the most anti-competitive merger we've ever seen," Susan McDermott, a staff attorney for Sen. Edward Kennedy's antitrust subcommittee, said. Within the next few weeks the Kennedy committee may hold full hearings into the merger approval. Meanwhile the Justice Department has delayed the release of a staff report opposing the merger.

Bell's action looks even worse in light of the recently revealed opposition by some Justice Department staff to the 1969 acquisition of Youngstown Sheet and

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Douglas A. Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, quit the Labor-Management Group because business is waging a "one-sided class war against poor and working people," and stop "pretending to have anything in common with management."

LABOR

UAW's Fraser attacks business war against labor

By Evan Hendricks

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A VETERAN POLITICAL PUNDIT once said: "Resignation is like a trump card: you can only use it once." United Auto Workers president Douglas A. Fraser has played his trump, leaving many observers to wonder: "What will other labor leaders do?"

The impact of Fraser's resignation from the blue-ribbon advisory committee, the Labor-Management Group, awaits the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Chicago Aug. 7. There is reason to believe, however, that Fraser's resignation—and the events that prompted it—may signal a shift in the labor movement's political strategy for the 1980 presidential elections.

At a July 19 press conference, Fraser accused business of waging a "one-sided" class war against poor and working people, and said he could spend his time more effectively by working with union members and progressive groups than to continue "pretending he has anything in common with management." He said that he hopes to convene a meeting of union representatives and activists groups this September.

The advisory group, which meets under the leadership of former Labor Secretary John Dunlop, is a non-governmental committee of eight corporate executives and seven (now that Fraser has left) ranking labor leaders. Since it counts as members the heads of the biggest of big business and big labor, it was once viewed as the ideal instrument for developing cooperative approaches on such issues as energy, inflation, unemployment, labor law and rising health costs.

Some observers feel that Fraser's resignation spells doom for the committee, but because six of the labor members are also on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, they were obligated not to comment until the Chicago meeting.

Most of the management representatives on the committee agreed to refer all questions about Fraser's exit to Dunlop, who told *IN THESE TIMES* that he regretted Fraser's move, but "understood the considerations that led him to resign."

Committee advises on policy.

Many of the advisory group's current members were on former President Nixon's Wage and Price Controls Committee. After that group was dissolved, President Ford, working with Dunlop, assembled a new labor-management panel in September of 1974. That group lasted until early 1976, when Ford broke earlier promises and vetoed the common site picketing bill. Dunlop then resigned as Secretary of Labor and labor representatives stopped participating in the group.

The management side later convinced Dunlop and the labor leaders to continue the discussions privately. In the spring of 1977, the group expanded its membership to include Fraser, Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers; Irving S. Shapiro, chairman of the E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., and Edgar B. Speer, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corp.

The 16-member panel formulated position papers on containing health care costs and controlling the influx of "illegal aliens," and sent them to the White House. It's difficult to say how much influence they had, because, as one observer put it, "They were pretty much in line with what the administration was already thinking."

But when the committee tried to formulate an anti-inflation policy, A.H. Raskin, former labor editor of the *New York Times*, noted, "They all got disgusted with each other, and as far as I know, never finished anything." The only position they could agree on was that wage-price controls were out of the question.

Move towards confrontation.

The tensions within the group escalated early this year when Congress began considering the labor law reform and Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bills. It was Fraser's hope that he and other labor representatives on the panel could convince the management side—many of whom are on the prestigious Business Roundtable—to remain neutral, or at least temper their opposition to the two measures.

The Roundtable initially issued a mild statement saying that the present balance

Continued on page 5.

The following is excerpted from UAW president Douglas A. Fraser's letter of resignation from the Labor-Management Group.



Dear Labor-Management Group Member:

...I have concluded that participation in these meetings is no longer useful to me or to the 1.5 million workers I represent as the president of the UAW.

I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of our society. The leaders of industry, commerce and finance in the U.S. have broken and discarded the fragile, unwritten compact previously existing during a past period of growth and progress.

For a considerable time, the leaders of business and labor have sat at the Labor-Management Group's table—recognizing differences, but seeking consensus where it existed. That worked because the business community in the U.S. succeeded in advocating a general loyalty to an allegedly benign capitalism that emphasized private property, independence and self-regulation along with an allegiance to free, democratic politics.

That system has worked best, of course, for the "haves" in our society rather than the "have-nots." Yet it survived in part because of an unspoken foundation: that when things got bad enough for a segment of society, the business elite "gave" a little bit—enabling government or interest groups to better conditions somewhat for that segment. That give usually came only after sustained struggle, such as that waged by the labor movement in the 1930s and the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

The acceptance of the labor movement, such as it has been, came because business feared the alternatives. Corporate America didn't join the fight to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Voting Rights Act, but it eventually accepted the inevitability of that legislation.

This system is not as it should be, yet progress has been made under it. But today, I am convinced there has been a shift on the part of the business community toward confrontation, rather than cooperation. Now, business groups are tightening their control over American society. As that grip tightens, it is the "have-nots" who are squeezed.

The latest breakdown in our relationship is also perhaps the most serious. The fight waged by the business community against the Labor Law Reform bill stands as the most vicious, unfair attack upon the labor movement in more than 30 years.

The new flexing of business muscle can be seen in many other areas. The rise of multinational corporations that know neither patriotism nor morality but only self-interest, has made accountability almost non-existent. At virtually every level, I discern a demand by business for docile government and unrestrained corporate individualism. Where industry once yearned for subservient unions, it now wants no unions at all.

General Motors Corp. is a specific case in point. GM, the largest manufacturing corporation in the world, has received responsibility, productivity and cooperation from the UAW and its members. In return, GM has given us a Southern strategy designed to set up a non-union network that threatens the hard-fought gains won by the UAW. We have given stability and have been rewarded with hostility. Overseas, it is the same. General Motors not only invests heavily in South Africa, it refuses to recognize the black unions there.

There are many other examples of the new class war being waged by business. Everyone in the Group knows there is no chance the business elite will join the fight for national health insurance or even remain neutral, despite the fact that U.S. is the only industrial country in the world, except for South Africa, without it. We are presently locked in battle with corporate interests on the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. We were at odds on improvements in the minimum wage, on Social Security financing, and virtually every other piece of legislation presented to Congress recently.

Business blames inflation on workers, the poor, the consumer and uses it as a club against them. Price hikes and profit increases are ignored while corporate representatives tell us we can't afford to stop killing and maiming workers in unsafe factories. They tell us we must postpone moderate increases in the minimum wage for those whose labor earns so little they can barely survive.

Our tax laws are a scandal, yet corporate America wants even wider inequities. If people truly understood, they would choose not Proposition 13s, but rather an overhaul of the tax system to make business and the rich pay their fair share. The wealthy seek not to close loopholes, but to widen them by advocating the capital gains tax rollback that will bring them a huge bonanza.

Even the very foundations of America's democratic process are threatened by the new approach of the business elite. No democratic country in the world has lower rates of voter participation than the U.S., except Botswana. Moreover, our voting participation is class-skewed—about 50 percent more of the affluent vote than workers and 90 percent to 300 percent more of the rich vote than the poor, the black, the young and the Hispanic. Yet business groups regularly finance politicians, referenda and legislative battles to continue barriers to citizen participation in elections. In Ohio, for example, many corporations in the Fortune 500 furnished the money to repeal fair and democratic voter registration.

Even if all the barriers to such participation were removed, there would be no rush to the polls by so many in our society who feel the sense of helplessness and inability to affect the system in any way. The Republican Party remains controlled by and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by business interests. The reality is that both are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination. Corporate America has more to lose by the turn off of citizens from the system than organized labor. But it is always the latter that fights to encourage participation and the former that works to stifle it.

I would rather sit with the rural poor, the desperate children of urban blight, the victims of racism, and working people seeking a better life than with those whose religion is the status quo, whose goal is profit and whose hearts are cold. We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat-down in the factories in the 1930s and who marched in Selma in the 1960s.

Sincerely,

Douglas A. Fraser

Douglas A. Fraser
President

Abortion rights are under attack



In the wake of Prop. 13 the California Assembly recently cut abortion funds for poor women by more than two-thirds.

Abortion funds will be available to women only in cases of incest and rape, when the woman is unmarried and under the age of 16, or when a woman's health is in danger.



Women Against Inhumane Legislation, a Detroit area group, claims that as many as six Michigan legislators who are opposed to legal abortions have secretly paid for abortions for women themselves.

The Detroit group has asked women who have had abortions financed by state senators or representatives to come forward and expose politicians who publicly vote against abortion, but privately pay for it. They have announced their intention to make the names public once the necessary affidavits are completed.

Michigan has been among the hardest hit by the cutback in funds for abortions. The state House and Senate have adopted an amendment that will cut off funding for abortions under medicaid during the next fiscal year.



The Justice Department has launched an investigation into charges that the National Right-to-Life Committee filed a false lobbying report. The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) requested the investigation because they believe that the right-to-life group covered up the amount and sources of its income in order to conceal financial support from religious sources.

Documents collected by NARAL reveal that the New York State Right-to-Life Committee may have sent thousands of dollars annually to the National Right-to-Life Committee and that at least two loans totaling \$14,000.00 were sent to the national group. The evidence indicates that the New York State Catholic Commission collects money for the New York State Right-to-Life Committee. Most of the New York state committee's income comes from these collections but, according to NARAL, it has never been reported.



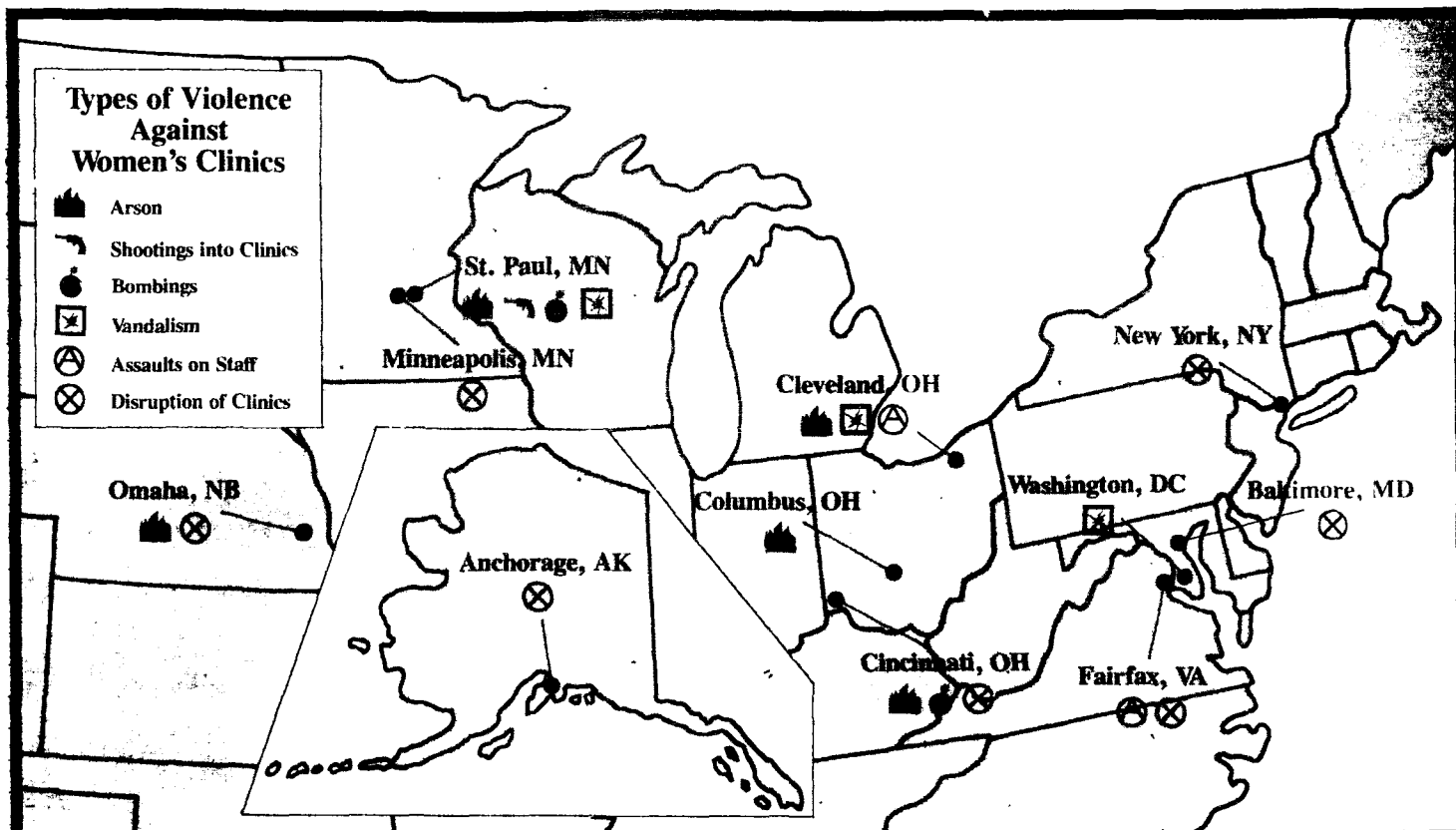
The Vermont Women's Health Center in Burlington, the Emma Goldman Clinic for Women in Iowa City, Iowa, and the Founder's Clinic in Columbus, Ohio, are the most recent abortion clinics to have been damaged by arson. (See map above.)

Many women's clinics have been attacked. Over the past 15 months such attacks have been increasing, and some have been assaulted simultaneously. Many clinic raids have taken place while patients were being treated; employees have been subjected to death threats and warned that their children will be kidnapped or harmed.



A Portland jury has convicted seven members of a militant anti-abortion group of criminal trespass after the judge dismissed their claim that the greater evil of abortion justified their action.

The defendants, all members of "People Expressing a Concern for Everyone" (PEACE), were found guilty of occupying a clinic performing abortions and chaining themselves to the operating tables. They were fined \$50 each and placed on a year's probation. They are



Abortion clinics across the country have been subjected to numerous attacks. The incidents illustrated by the map show incidents that have occurred within the last year. On Jan. 6, six clinics were assaulted simultaneously by a group called PEACE—People Expressing Concern for Everyone.

prohibited from entering the clinic or interfering with its operations, although they may distribute literature outside. Lawyers for PEACE say they will appeal the verdict.

(Off Our Backs, Zodiac News, NARAL Report, Liberation News Service)
Compiled by Ron Williams.

Dukakis vetoes Fair Share bill

Gov. Michael Dukakis waited until the last moment to "pocket veto" Massachusetts Fair Share's "circuit-breaker" bill which would have provided \$50 million in property tax rebates to low- and mod-

erate-income tenants and homeowners.

After an intense lobbying effort by Fair Share, a statewide citizens action group, the state legislature appropriated the \$50 million for tax relief. Dukakis let the bill sit on his desk without signing it until the state legislature adjourned for the year July 12. With the legislature out of session there was no opportunity to revive the bill and attempt to override the governor's veto.

Fair Share will now turn its attention to a related campaign to pass a "tax classification" amendment on next November's ballot. The amendment is designed to allow cities and towns to tax commercial and industrial property at a higher rate than residential property. Unless the amendment passes, homeowners and tenants will face large tax increases under the impact of 100 percent tax valuation, eas-

ing the tax burden on industrial and commercial property owners.

Fair Share has forged a coalition to pass the amendment with the Massachusetts Mayors Association and the Public Employees Legislative Council.

The amendment's proponents were stung last week by a Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruling which cut off public money for the Massachusetts Mayors Association's campaign to promote the classification scheme. Boston mayor Kevin White had already transferred \$223,000 from last year's budget and got the City Council to appropriate \$975,000 for the campaign effort.

Without these funds available for media publicity, the proponents will have to rely on a more grass-roots campaign to offset the business community's opposition to the amendment.

—Peter Dreier

Fraser quits Business-Labor Group

Continued from page 4.

between labor and management was fine, and that a new reform measure wasn't needed. But when it became evident this spring that the bill had a good chance of becoming law, the Roundtable joined with the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and other business-oriented groups to form an industry counterattack similar to the one that torpedoed the construction picketing bill.

In the July 19 press conference, Fraser said that business opposition to labor law reform was one issue that caused him to resign, but he pointed to corporate efforts to "repeal fair and democratic voter registration" in Ohio, as well as opposition to national health insurance, full employment, and improvements in the minimum wage and Social Security financing as other causes. The main thrust of Fraser's comments was that management had junked its "cooperative approach" and moved toward outright confrontation.

R. Heath Larry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), characterized Fraser's comments as "a rather hysterical outcry," and said it was the unions, not management, that were pressing for confrontation and "class warfare."

Larry told in *THESE TIMES* that the labor forces "stonewalled" attempts made by business to work out a "reasonable compromise" on the labor bill.

General Motors' chairman Thomas A. Murphy, also "strongly disagreed" with Fraser's contention that GM has a Southern Strategy designed to set up a non-union network that threatens the hard-fought gains won by the UAW. "With more than 400,000 union-represented em-

ployees in GM, it would be ridiculous for anyone to assume that we are building plants anywhere to avoid the union," Murphy said.

AFL-CIO considers Fraser's move.

Fraser could not predict whether AFL-CIO leaders would also resign from the

Fraser plans to rebuild old and new alliances. He wants to explore the possibility of founding a labor party.

labor-management committee, but Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, and a participant on the committee, earlier warned that the committee would be useless if business thwarted measures like the labor law reform bill.

In a speech at the Arden House in Hariman, New York, last May, Kirkland said, "The pending issue of labor law reform may well mark a crossroad in the future relations between labor and management in this country." Cooperative relations "are not likely to survive" defeat of the reform bill. "I...would be most reluctant to continue to participate in labor-management committees or symposia engaged in high-minded discourse." Kirkland carried this message with him to the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Chicago Aug. 7. Besides discussing the merits of his resignation, it was likely to review Fraser's plan for rebuilding old and new alliances, and the possibility of founding a labor party.

Fraser's purpose in calling the meeting was "to assess where we are and try to generate again support and enthusiasm behind an agenda of actions...UAW leaders, for the first time in years, are saying, 'Shouldn't we explore the alternative of a third party?'" Don Stillman, director of UAW public relations, later told in *THESE TIMES* that the union was seeking "broad input" for a conference that will attempt to include other unions, the NAACP, women's groups, farmers, environmentalists, and a "socialist presence." Because the list has not yet been drawn up, he couldn't specify which organizations would be invited, but he stressed that the UAW only plans to convene the meeting, not control it.

Fraser's disenchantment with Carter's health insurance proposals are particularly significant because the UAW supported Carter for President because he promised to enact a comprehensive national health plan. Moreover, Fraser is chairman of the Committee for National Health Insurance, a Washington-based lobbying group to which the UAW contributes substantial sums of money.

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) joined Fraser and other labor leaders in denouncing the Carter proposals. "The President's failure of leadership on this issue now will make our effort more difficult in the future," Kennedy said, "but we shall work harder, and I am confident we shall prevail."

That Kennedy and labor leaders are working closely together in opposition to Carter, a man they helped put in office, should not be lost on anyone who is trying to predict the outcome of the Democratic National Convention in 1980.

Evan Hendricks writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

TAX REVOLT

Conservatives map tax-cut strategy

By Dan Marschall

S T. L O U I S

MOVE OVER WHEATIES, Fritos, and Coca-Cola. Tax limitation is about to become the latest product competing for consumer attention in the American marketplace.

Drawing on the momentum created by Proposition 13, the leadership of some 17 ultra-conservative organizations met July 28-29 in St. Louis to formulate "tax limitation" campaigns, coordinate their state-by-state activities, and develop a "national marketing strategy" to sell conservatism to the American people.

A prime goal of these groups is to ride the tax revolt bandwagon into state and national elected office in 1978 and 1980. The first conference, a National Tax Reduction Seminar sponsored by the Missouri Council for Economic Development, starred Rep. Jack F. Kemp, the New York Republican who is co-author of the Kemp-Roth Tax Reduction Act, which over three years would chop federal income tax rates by about 35 percent. Kemp, an impressive speaker who oozes sincerity and "free enterprise" economics, is mentioned frequently as a contender for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination.

Philip Crane.

Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-IL), sponsor of a separate National Tax Action Conference, announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential slot several days after the gathering. Crane, who gained notoriety in the conservative battle against the Panama Canal treaties, intends to spend the next year traveling across the nation, hoping, in the pattern of Jimmy Carter, to build popular support for his presidential ambitions. He plans to enter every state primary in 1980. Richard Viguerie, new right fundraiser, recently mailed 100,000 pieces of direct mail to raise money for Crane's campaign.

The right-wing credentials of both candidates are impeccable. Kemp, a pro football quarterback for 13 years, served as special assistant to Gov. Ronald Reagan in 1967. The AFL-CIO rates him near the bottom of their list of New York representatives because of his conservative record on labor issues.

Crane, a former history professor, is chairman of the American Conservative Union and an advisor to the Young Americans for Freedom. In 1964 he served as Illinois research director for the Barry Goldwater campaign. He views Goldwater as a "prophet who was vindicated by the voters' repudiation" of Hubert Humphrey in 1968.

Conference theme.

The over-riding theme of the conferences was that tax limitation is an intrinsically popular issue that spans party lines and appeals to the interests of the urban poor, as well as middle-income suburbanites.

"Tax limitation is a common denominator that cuts across party and ideological lines," Crane told *IN THESE TIMES*. "When you've found an important basic issue like this, you've established the common denominators upon which other divisions—political labels and ideological tags—are eliminated. That's been demonstrated wherever tax limitation initiatives have been successful."

"This is a cause that cuts across all segments of society and all classes of people," added John Ashcroft, Missouri Attorney General who is expected to run for governor on a tax-limitation platform. "The issues of high taxes concerns Democrats as much as Republicans. Ultimately, it is an issue of the common man, the decent law-abiding citizen who wants to live his life untrammelled by that insatiable leviathan on the banks of the Potomac."

Conference participants nevertheless defined the tax limitation issue, which



Rep. Jack F. Kemp, co-author of the Tax Reduction Act, would chop federal income taxes by 35 percent.

"In the past there's been no obstacle to New Deal socialism. The tax limitation is an inherent obstacle to the advance of socialism. It's the most exciting turn of events I've seen."

they have pushed for years, in traditional conservative terms. Unless rising taxes and government spending are restrained, they say, free enterprise, private property and individual liberties will be severely jeopardized.

The case for tax cuts.

Kemp enunciated the economic case for tax cuts. He argues that high taxes and excessive government spending have reduced the incentive for Americans to work, decreased labor's productivity and restrained new investment. By cutting taxes, thereby encouraging investment in the private sector and making a person's monetary reward "roughly commensurate with his efforts," Kemp maintains that inflation and unemployment will drop as the entire economy surges forward.

"The whole purpose of our efforts is to restore incentive to the worker, the saver, the investor, the producer and to those men and women of ambition who build mountains out of ideas and bring jobs into being," Kemp declared. "The best way to encourage incentives for work and a free enterprise economy is to allow the American people to retain a better share of their hard-earned pay checks."

Through his tax reduction legislation, Kemp hopes to duplicate President John F. Kennedy's 1963 program, which reduced individual and corporate taxes. Some right-wing economists contend that

Kennedy's tax cuts were primarily responsible for making the '60s the "best epoch of the postwar period for jobs, capital formation and profits."

To win the support of minorities, Kemp and other tax revoltors are making a strong anti-unemployment, pro-growth pitch. "Unemployment is a tragedy," Kemp said. "Inflation is a tragedy, especially for poor people because they go without jobs and the means to help themselves. Minority Americans have faced man-made barriers to employment opportunities for years. Today those barriers are being reduced, but are replaced with government-made barriers: a tax system that is denying millions both employment and the upward mobility associated with the American dream."

Similar rhetoric is directed at the other part of the liberal, New Deal coalition: the urban working class. Instead of denouncing unions as the main enemy, they attack "big government" as the major cause of inflation, unemployment and the American people's "loss of confidence in themselves." Kemp, though opposed by the AFL-CIO, has won the votes of steelworkers and other union members in his home district of Buffalo, N.Y. In Massachusetts, Ed King, leader of Citizens for Limited Taxation, claims to have won the backing of construction workers by stressing that tax cuts will stimulate building.

"We have to talk in positive terms and be aggressive about using other groups," said King, a candidate for governor on a cut-taxes platform. "We're talking about tax cuts creating a better business climate. That means productive jobs for working men and women, not just a few dollars in the pockets of the fat cats."

Still against unions.

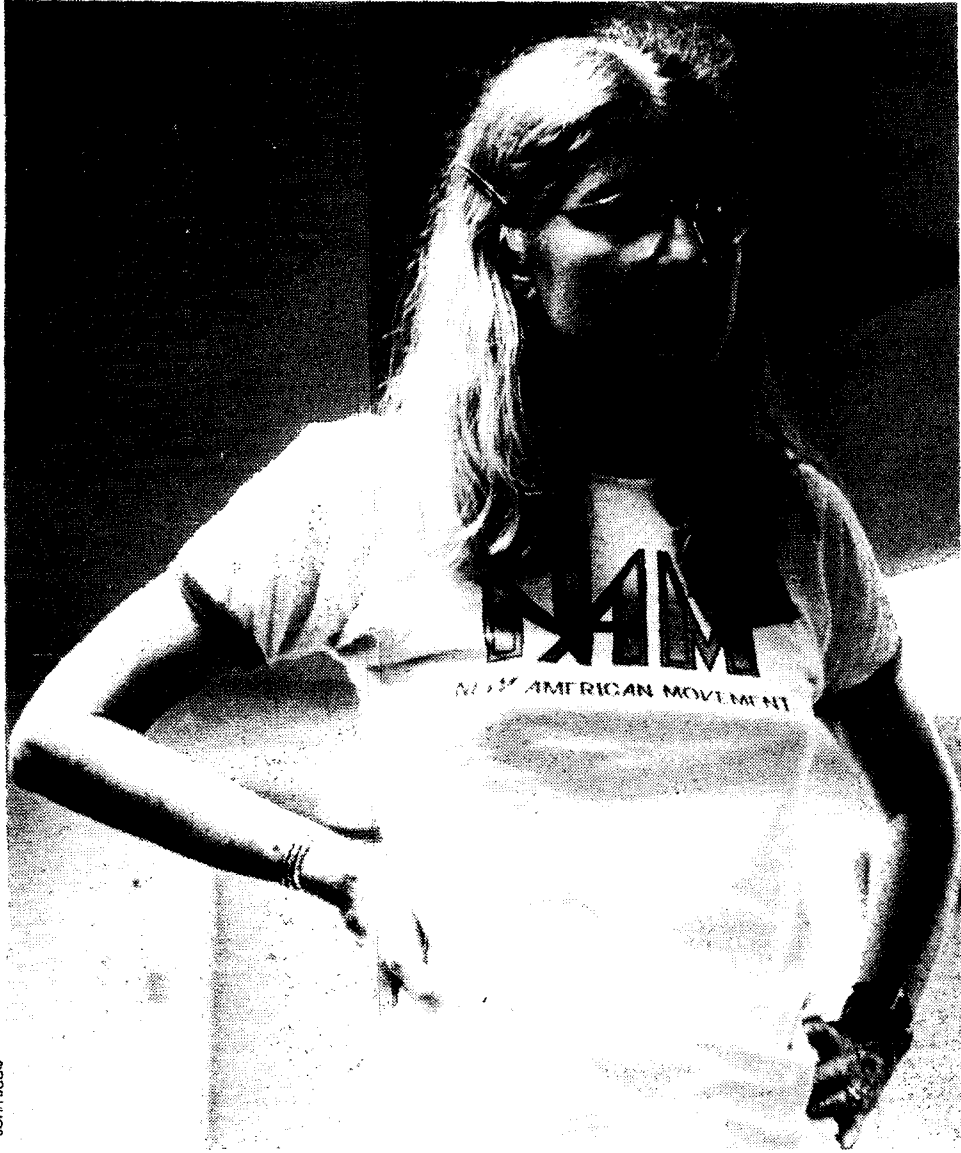
Despite their anti-anti-union rhetoric, Crane and other conservatives view public employee and teachers unions as "our chief antagonists" in the tax-cutting battle. They also have close ties to anti-union organizations like the National Right to Work Committee, which was presented as a model of successful single-issue organizing. The Missouri Council for Economic Development, in addition, is an important component in the right-wing campaign to enact state "right-to-work" legislation.

Participants in Crane's Tax Action Conference discussed varied programmatic approaches to the issue, ranging from focusing on a balanced budget to specific tax cuts. While efforts now differ from state to state, they hope to coordinate their work through future conferences, a national information clearinghouse and exchange of campaign material. The most popular approach among these

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THE LEFT

NAM debates labor issues



Jacquie Brown, Lansing NAM, was one of 430 delegates to the annual convention.

By Dan Marshall

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT, a democratic socialist organization with roots in the new left and a nationwide membership of about 700, has appeared, to some left activists, to be on the verge of collapse for the past several years. Others observed that NAM possessed neither a definite political perspective nor a defined set of priorities for its activities.

As NAM members approached their

7th national convention, many had low expectations for changing this situation. NAM's apparent malaise set in around 1975, when the organization adopted what it called a "mass organizing" strategy, intended to increase members' involvement in institutions like labor unions and community groups. Many NAM members, coming from middle-income backgrounds and years of college education, were sequestered in counter-culture communities and marginal employment. They gradually moved into more traditional jobs, usually in the white-collar and service sectors of the workforce, find-

ing most organizing success among clerical employees.

One aspect of this new orientation was a greater attention to "workplace organizing," which was defined as everything from building a "radical workers' movement" to participating in rank-and-file caucuses in established unions. Local chapters set up strike-support groups and reference groups to develop and articulate workplace strategy.

Progress was slow. Membership growth turned sluggish from 1975 to '77 as new chapters formed and old chapters folded. Only in several cities, notably Pittsburgh, Pa., were chapters a city-wide force that intervened in local politics. Yet, while other remnants of the new left—socialist-feminist women's unions, Marxist-Leninist sects and groups like the Wisconsin Alliance—split and dissolved, NAM held on and tried to develop a non-sectarian socialist alternative.

NAM's 1978 convention, held July 19-23 in Milwaukee, Wis., still reflected small numbers (though membership has jumped 25 percent in the previous year), but increasing organizational vitality, political sophistication and internal coherence. Focused on "The Labor Movement and the Role of the Left," the 430 delegates and observers indicated that NAM's trade union work had expanded rapidly in the last year.

NAM now includes over 200 workplace activists in some 45 unions, ranging from rank-and-file caucus participants and local union officers, to union organizers and international staff members. In attendance were influential workplace activists—like Paul Schrade, former UAW regional director, and members of Chicago's Steelworkers Fight Back—from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Danville, Ill. Labor committees now function in at least half of NAM's 35 chapters.

NAM's trade union activity also focused the discussion on where the organization should direct its meager resources. Convention speakers proposed divergent strategies: maintain a "dispersal policy" whereby NAM members engage in many different activities, or place a higher priority on labor work and concentrate on specific industries and unions.

Debate over this question is, of course, nothing new. Marxist-Leninist groups

have debated such strategic considerations for decades. Within NAM, however, it takes on added significance. NAM encompasses a strong feminist perspective, an orientation towards socialist education, a commitment to gay and lesbian liberation, and other principles that make it unique in the Marxist left. Attaching greater priorities to some areas signals neither the abandonment of other activities nor the "economism"—focusing on economic issues to the exclusion of broader phenomena—that so often plagues left sects, NAM members believe.

"We're a small organization, but one with a special approach to the issues," said Judy MacLean, NAM Organizational Secretary, in the opening speech on the future of NAM. "We don't believe, as do some of our fellow socialists, that there's a key sector or key area of work that unlocks the magic door to working class victory.... Some people say that we must unite together and form a fist to fight strongly. There's a time for that. And there's a time to spread the fingers out, to better get them into as many places as possible. And 1978 is that second kind of time."

Others, analyzing the impact of Proposition 13, the rise of the right and the labor movement's weaknesses, disagreed. "In general terms, we cannot talk about a key sector because it implies a hierarchy of significance," responded Stanley Aronowitz of San Diego NAM. "But at any historical conjuncture, we must enunciate what are the key sectors. If we do not... we will find ourselves all over the map, impotent and unable to do anything."

Dayton NAM's Mark Mericle added that because NAM has more activists in unions, they must work not only to activate the rank and file, but also to support the progressive wing within labor leadership. "Despite the strides we've made since 1975," he declared, "we still don't have a high enough priority on the labor movement. Labor is now the only force that can respond to the economic blackmail threatened by the capitalist class. We have to focus our activity better."

Debate over these approaches centered on Mericle's proposal that NAM "further develop our approach to and deepen our work in" clerical organizing, the public sector, health and education.

"We need to inject more realism into this discussion," countered Roberta Lynch of Chicago NAM. "We're not in a position for national concentration. We don't have a base big enough in these unions to affect them. The key priority is to stress labor work on the local level."

Speakers also pointed out that while NAM's labor work had increased, so had other activities. The socialist-feminist commission had coordinated the work of 32 chapters around reproductive rights, published several newsletters and assisted chapters in gay rights campaigns. The commission on racism drew numerous chapters into activity concerning undocumented workers, the Bakke case and Southern Africa. (This was reflected at the convention by the presence of minority activists like Manning Marable, Michele Russell and Delfino Varela.)

The final resolution on NAM's labor activity roughly satisfied both sides. It affirms the strategic import of the public sector and mandates a "national program which will both coordinate our efforts and link labor to urban struggles," but notes that it is essential to enter the industrial, communications and transportation sectors.

Delegates overwhelmingly rejected several proposals put forth by NAM's tiny "left wing." Resolutions by delegates from Middlesex (Boston area) NAM discouraging members from accepting union staff positions and attacking most progressive union leaders for engaging in "bureaucratic maneuvers intended to stifle rank and file militancy" were defeated by wide margins.

But the convention also reflected a glaring lack of analysis of electoral politics. The "State of the Organization" report by NAM's top leadership ignored major political developments like waning popular support for the Carter administration. Considering that 1978 is an election year, and that the Conference on Alternative Policies (ITT, Aug. 2) illustrated the breadth of activity in this area, this lack was particularly noticeable.

Tax limitation drive

Continued from page 6.

groups is a constitutional limit on the growth of government spending according to the expansion of total personal income.

The constitutional amendment drive is spearheaded by the California-based National Tax Limitation Committee, headed by Lewis Uhler, former chairman of Reagan's Tax Reduction Tax Force. Uhler argues that the political system includes one "basic flaw" that leads to higher governmental expenditures: social programs are decided separately with politicians neglecting to notice their cumulative effect on tax rates. Only by enacting constitutional limits, on the state and then national level, he says, will officials be forced to "live within their budget" and balance new programs against one another.

This concept has made some headway. In March the residents of Tennessee voted by a large margin to place constitutional restraints on the total size of state spending. Crane has introduced legislation to place a ceiling on federal expenditures. At least 22 states have called for a constitutional convention to adopt an amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. On July 26 the NTLC announced the formation of a "federal drafting committee," including economist Milton Friedman, to draw up a federal-level amendment by January 1979.

Another seldom-mentioned goal of

the right-wing tax revolvers is to cut the federal monies that they charge are being utilized by anti-free-enterprise groups. A representative from Kentucky's Organization to Restore and Preserve Freedom talked about how their anti-busing campaigns were subverted by individuals and groups "on the public payroll."

Property rights.

According to Ben Wallis, head of the National Association of Property Owners, the tax limitation issue comes down to a question of basic property rights. "Your property rights are being eroded when they take your property in taxes," he complained. "Through regulation and enforcement, government is using your taxes to take away your property. The radical groups that oppose property rights are funded through grants from federal agencies."

Morton Blackwell of *Viguerie's Conservative Digest* argued that the tax-revolt could counter the threat of New Deal Socialism. "When I became a conservative 18 years ago," Blackwell remarked, "I came across a 1948 article by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. which said there is no inherent obstacle to the advance of socialism in the U.S. through a series of New Deals. In the past, we've had no obstacle. The tax limitation concept is an inherent obstacle to the advance of socialism. It's the most exciting turn of events I've seen."

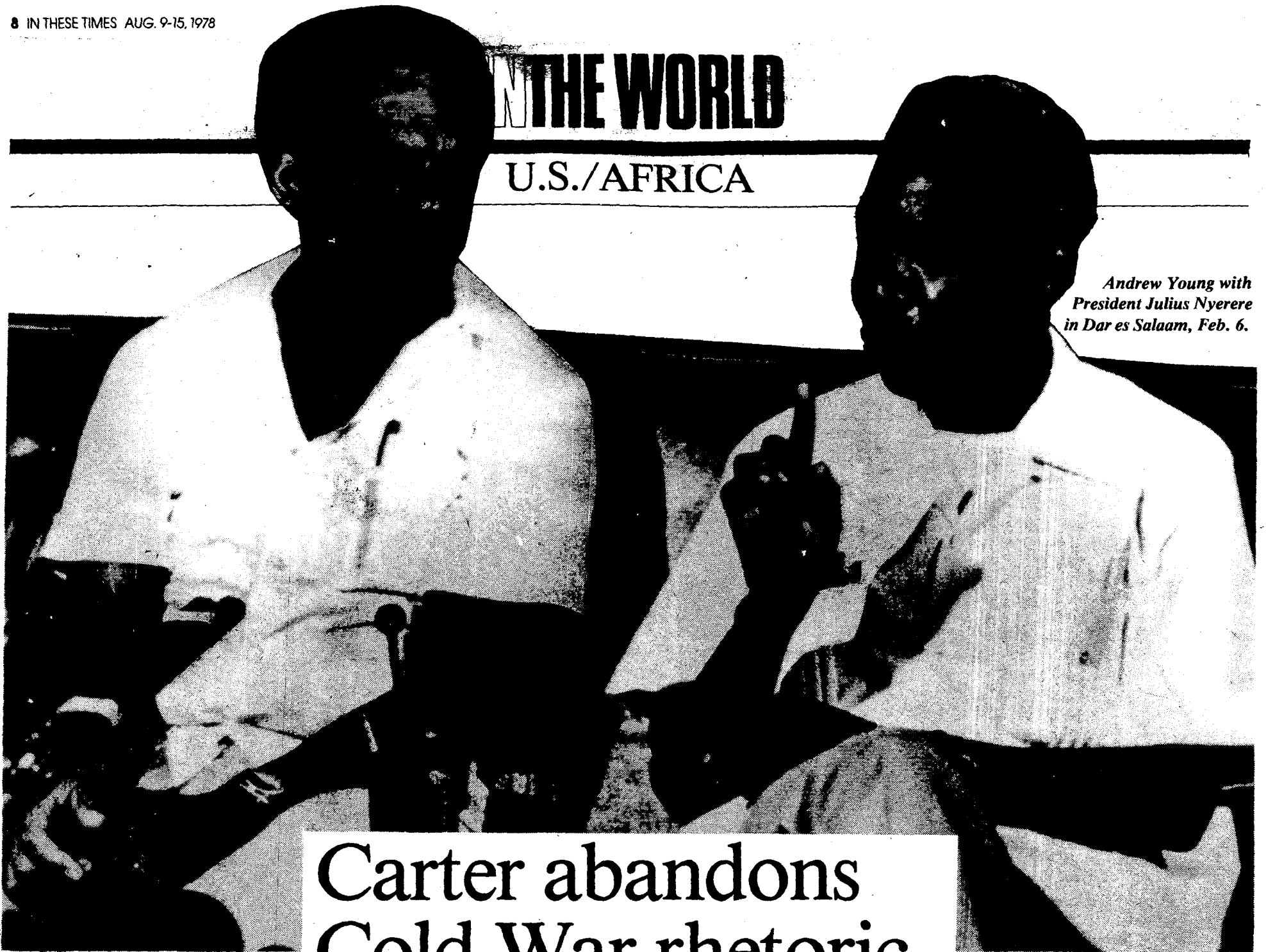
Right wing multiplies nationwide

ORGANIZERS OF THE NATIONAL TAX Action Conference distributed a list of over 185 state and local taxpayer groups in 48 states. The list of groups represented at the meeting reads like a Who's Who of the Reaganite right:

NATIONAL TAXPAYER'S UNION
CONSERVATIVE DIGEST
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION
HERITAGE FOUNDATION
COMMITTEE FOR SURVIVAL OF A FREE CONGRESS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION TO RESTORE AND PRESERVE FREEDOM
CITIZENS FOR LIMITED TAXATION (MASS.)
TAXPAYERS SURVIVAL ASSOCIATION (Missouri)
NATIONAL TAX LIMITATION COMMITTEE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PROPERTY OWNERS
GEORGIA TAX RELIEF COMMITTEE
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES
AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL

IN THE WORLD

U.S./AFRICA



Andrew Young with
President Julius Nyerere
in Dar es Salaam, Feb. 6.

Carter abandons Cold War rhetoric for 'positive policy'

By Robert Manning

AFTER A BLITZ OF SHRILL, Cold War rhetoric and one of the most sophisticated and concerted Western interventions since the first Congo crisis of the early '60s, the Carter administration has retreated from its hard-line stance almost as quickly as the French foreign legion departed Zaire after quelling the recent rebellion in Shaba province.

The abrupt turn-about from the hard-line stance advocated chiefly by Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's National Security Council (NSC) advisor, towards the more subtle, low-key approach symbolized by Secretary of State Vance and UN Ambassador Andrew Young is both a response to African reaction to the heavy-handed Western maneuvers in Zaire and also a by-product of an evolving global strategy toward the Soviet Union.

The policy switch was embodied in several statements by Vance including what the White House billed as a "major policy" statement on Africa in June. Comments by Carter himself in recent weeks have underscored this stance.

Package deal with Angola.

Only weeks after the administration was considering renewed covert operations in Angola, Vance announced on June 20 that the U.S. would seek a "more normal" working relationship with Angola. Less than 24 hours later Young's top UN assistant, Donald McHenry, was winging his way to Luanda to make what some analysts say was a "package deal" with the Marxist government of Agostinho Neto.

Neto has all along called for normalizing ties with the U.S. to lessen dependence on the USSR and Cuba. Neto's backing was vital to the recent accord with SWAPO on Namibia, and also to a reconciliation between Angola and arch-enemy Mobutu of Zaire which has evolved. Some suggest that in exchange the U.S. pledged to pull the plug on UNITA anti-government guerillas and that Zaire promised to stop support for destabilizing activities. (ITT, July 26.)

Behind the shifting sands of American Africa policy is the reality, as one State Department source put it, that Carter and Brzezinski "overplayed their hand on Zaire." The Carter administration chose

It looked like Brzezinski's hardline stand had won out in the White House. But African resentment and congressional skepticism have turned Carter back to Young and Vance's softer line in African affairs.

the Shaba rebellion for an East-West showdown. The cold war hysteria they induced served largely to rationalize Western intervention. On close inspection it appears that Carter's charge that Cuba bore "heavy responsibility" for the uprising was, to put it politely, exaggerated.

The exchanges between Carter and Fidel Castro stirred resentment from many African nations and threatened to undermine key American initiatives on that continent. Condemning Western intervention, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said, "The West still considers Africa to be within its sphere of influence and acts accordingly." He added, "They are interested in the domination of Africa."

Nyerere defended the Soviet and Cuban African presence, saying that it was confined primarily to Ethiopia and Angola, and in both cases aid had been requested by legitimate and recognized governments facing external aggression. Such a request, Nyerere explained, "is completely understandable to all reasonable people."

Many congressmen were also upset at the way Carter manipulated the so-called evidence, withholding, for example, the fact that Castro had told Carter that he knew in advance that the rebellion was in the works and tried to stop it. Carter then backpeddled, saying that Castro "could have done more" after charging at first that Castro made no effort to stop it. Even the senior Pentagon intelligence analyst, Daniel Murphy, admitted that "hard, conclusion, publicly available evidence or proof of Cuban involvement" was lacking.

Shaba became Carter's "Gulf of Tonkin" as the administration ignored Afri-

can realities to flex some muscle towards Moscow. One White House advisor explained, "You have a different situation than last year. There has been a doubling of Cuban combat forces, mostly in Ethiopia."

The idea of a permanent "Pan-African" strike force was proposed in National Security Council meetings, but was dropped when only a handful of conservative Frenchspeaking states such as Gabon, Ivory Coast and Senegal backed the idea while key states such as Nigeria, and Tanzania opposed it. Washington felt that such a plan would further polarize a deeply divided Africa and jeopardize African opposition on already shaky negotiation efforts on Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Global strategy.

The shift in African policy seems to reflect the outcome of a major policy review, Policy Review Memorandum 36 (PRM36). Details have not yet surfaced, but the contours are discernible and suggest that Africa policy may be part of a new approach to crisis management.

In his Africa speech, Vance emphasized that the U.S. would "not mirror Soviet and Cuban activities in Africa," referring back to his last major policy comment in July 1977, he said, "We can be neither right nor effective if we treat Africa simply as an arena for East-West competition." Vance elaborated, "Our best course is to help resolve the problems which create the excuse for external intervention and to help strengthen the ability of our Africans to defend themselves."

Apparently reflecting the African backlash to the U.S.-NATO posture in Zaire,

Vance said that the U.S. "had good relations" with almost every African nation, and that the U.S. "does not want to see Africa divided along ideological or other lines." Characterizing what he dubbed "the ingredients of a positive African policy," Vance repeated the standard litany: a strong American commitment to "social justice and economic development"; "support for legitimate defense needs"; "respect for African nationalism"; and human rights.

Vance's most interesting comments were on Angola. Carter himself has ruled out complete normalization (it is an election year), but "more normal" ties are the order of the day. For the first time, Vance admitted that Zaire backed aggression against Angola, saying, "Zaire and Angola must reach agreement to respect their common border."

In recent weeks, Neto has met at least twice with Mobutu, agreed to establish full relations, opened the Benguela Railway that once carried Zaire's copper to the Atlantic port of Lobito, Angola, and not only disarmed the Shaba rebels, but arranged exchanges of refugees with Zaire. What deals were made behind the scenes in smoke-filled rooms may never be unveiled, but the arrangement may mark the end of the lingering war situation in Angola.

Ward of the court.

But the Carter administration is hardly standing on the sidelines and observing Africa's fate. The West is now responsible for Mobutu's national security and the Zairian economy. After the Paris and Brussels meetings in June, the U.S., other Western International Monetary Fund (IMF) members plus Iran worked out the "Mobutu plan," which one American official described as tantamount to making Mobutu "a ward of the court."

The plan is to pump \$1 billion in economic aid into Zaire over the next two years in exchange for allowing Western "counsellors" to oversee the Finance Ministry, the Central Bank and other key sectors including mining, transport, communications and defense.

A similar bail-out plan was concocted for Zambia. The Kaunda government is expected to get the \$1 billion it requires over the next three years. But according

Continued on page 9.

AFRICA

This is not a normal boarding school

By Hilda Bernstein

MOROGORO, TANZANIA

A NARROW TRACK OF DEEP red soil runs between tall feathery grasses and the dried stalks of maize and sorghum. The Land Rover pushes the grass down and tiny black and scarlet birds dart up. There are brilliantly-colored butterflies among the sunflowers.

The farm, Masimbo, was formerly a 250-acre sisal plantation. It is not far from the town of Morogoro. Behind the town is a range of mountains, green, turquoise, blue. It is a magnificent setting.

Sisal was once Tanzania's staple crop, but production declined with the growth of substitute materials. It is 12 years since this plantation ceased production. There are two small peasant villages on the farm, but the brick buildings scattered around that once housed the white manager, the engineer and technical staff, and the sisal factory itself, have remained empty and derelict. Now the lizards are being evicted as the houses are restored, windows and doors repaired, rooms cleaned and painted. Each house now has a new name: Luanda, Maputo, Havana, Dodoma, Tashkent.

The whole farm, with all its buildings, has been donated by the Tanzanian government to the African National Congress of South Africa, to establish a high school for the many students who have fled from their country since the Soweto uprisings in June 1976. Two years later they are still making the long journey up through Africa; they are scattered in many countries, but high school students from South Africa now in Botswana, Swaziland, Angola or Mozambique will come to Masimbo to complete their education. Already there are about 60 people, male and female, living at the farm, their ages ranging from 14 to 28 years.

Learned their lesson.

These are the children who faced bullets and armoured cars in Soweto, in Natal and the Cape and other places when the revolt spread. They saw their brothers and sisters mowed down beside them—estimates from different sources say at least 500 died in the first few days, and thousands were injured. Although some fled simply to escape detention, torture and possible long imprisonment, most are strongly motivated. In a few short days they had learned the lesson South Africa teaches all those who ask for an end to apartheid: that those who want their freedom must learn to fight tanks and machine guns with more than their bare bodies and empty hands.

These children left South Africa to try and get military training, and they intend to return.

Tembi: The [South African] police came and questioned the school principal about me. From then on I did not sleep at home. Twice they took my mother away for questioning. My teacher said, 'You had better go.' But to be away from my mother for years...no, I could not go. But eventually I decided. My mother gave me money and I crossed the border into Swaziland.

Sikosi: I was at high school in Bophutatswana (a Bantustan). In August 1976 we decided to burn down the Bantustan parliament building. We met together and we burned it, totally. The police were searching for the leaders. Many students hid.

Nkosazana: Police started shooting at small children of five and six years; the children retaliated by throwing stones, then there was more shooting. It went on for many days. My brothers were arrested. One is still in detention. I decided to leave, and I went to Botswana.

Africa in my heart.

We have supper at Maputo. Blue and purple shadows sharpen on the mountains,

*South African children.*

Tony McGrath/IDAF

the air is clear, still. There are tiny newly-planted orange trees, paw-paw trees, pineapple plants and handsome ducks with black tails and crimson beaks strut around.

There is no electric light. The sky is brilliant as we walk to Luanda house to meet all the students. "Welcome to the House of Exile," reads a sign over the door. The students sit on wooden benches; a single lamp defines a few faces and deepens the shadows. Then they start to sing. They sing as only South Africans can, their voices resonant, pure, high and deep, an orchestra of the most perfect harmony. Freedom songs. Africa in my heart. *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika.*

We sleep at Tashkent. This is the girls' house, bare rooms, camp beds; round the walls a few small suitcases and cardboard boxes, and neat piles of folded clothes. No other furniture, not even a nail to hang things, because the house is being repaired.

In the morning we wash outside with water drawn from a well, to which it is brought by a tanker from the town. Piped water is a first priority, and a trench is being dug the length of the farm.

The day begins at 5:30, with physical training. Then there is sweeping, cleaning, bathing and breakfast. The girls are beautiful, healthy-looking and immaculately clean, with freshly washed and pressed clothes, their hair plaited into the patterned styles now current in Tanzania.

After breakfast the pupils are at school until lunch at 1:45. On alternate afternoons there is agriculture or sport, with supper at 5:15, followed by study.

A notice on the board announces a health lecture on Headaches: "Everybody invited, matriculants also, they also get headaches." There is a rota for cleaning and preparing the meals.

A new high school.

The plans of the new high school to be built at Masimbo have already been prepared by a Danish architect who is going to spend a year at Masimbo to supervise the first stage. The Dutch and Norwegian governments have donated the preliminary funds to start the project, and the Mozambique government has offered to build a technical block.

Ultimately there will be six separate units each housing 144 students, each unit

At a farm in Tanzania, South African children learn how to fight, so they won't face tanks empty-handed when they return home.

with its own services and kitchens, and surrounded by vegetable and fruit-growing gardens that the students will maintain with the object of making the school self-sufficient in food. The plans show provision for teaching blocks, laboratories, a wood-working shop to make their own doors and windows and furniture, a clinic, administration offices, staff housing, a sports stadium and cultural workshop.

It cannot become a reality without international support. Much money is needed to build and maintain the school and the trained personnel of all kinds who cannot be supplied solely from the ranks of

South African refugees. There are many difficult problems to overcome, many personal difficulties. These young people showed great courage when they faced the police bullets. Now that they are separated from parents, home and friends and must lead a displaced life in a strange country, they need even more courage.

"This is not a normal boarding school," we are told. "These students have come to live in exile. They want to complete their studies, but they have one objective: to return to South Africa."

They are a long way from home. Not one among them doubts that they will find the way back.

Carter's Africa policy

Continued from page 8.

to well-placed diplomatic sources, the West made it clear to Kaunda that they hope he will make all-out efforts to promote the Anglo-American plan in Zimbabwe. Zambia hosts guerillas of the Patriotic Front.

This more subtle approach, using the economic dependency of African economies to exert Western influence, appears to be the thrust of the Vance-Young approach. Young has said that if radical African states want technology and capital, "the West has the technology, the capital, and the markets for raw materials."

At the same time, the U.S. has given no indication of bringing any more pressure on South Africa. Vance gave only passing mention to Pretoria in his address repeating the American position that "failure to make genuine progress towards ending racial discrimination and full political participation..." will have

an "adverse impact" on Washington-Pretoria ties. Carter has made no "human rights" issues of continuing repression in South Africa and events such as the recent spate of blacks killed while in police custody and labeled "suicides"—26 in the past two years.

Moreover, in July, American nuclear arms negotiator Gerrard C. Smith visited South Africa amidst reports that Pretoria was ready to sign the nuclear non-proliferation pact in exchange for the delivery of American fuel for South African reactors and technology for Pretoria's ambitious uranium-enrichment program. If this deal materializes—and U.S. and South African officials are tight-lipped—oil-poor Pretoria would be that much closer to self-sufficiency and immune to outside pressure.

Robert A. Manning writes on U.S./Africa policy for IN THESE TIMES.

ITALY

Doctors, church block legal abortion

By Ellen Cantarow

R O M E

IN MID-JUNE, ON ROME'S NORTH-east side, a small group of doctors, nurses and feminists seized an abandoned wing of a state hospital's maternity ward. In the wake of the passage of the abortion reform law here last May, a mere six doctors out of an obstetrics and gynecology staff of 120 at the *Policlinico Umberto I* had agreed to perform abortions. The rest have taken refuge in Article Nine of the law, which permits doctors and auxiliary medical personnel in state hospitals and clinics to become conscientious objectors to abortion.

Up in the occupied wing 18 beds were set up for women who, according to a nurse who refused out of fear to give her name, were pouring in not just from Rome but from Sicily, Calabria and Naples, where objection levels were even higher than in the capital.

The occupation continues.

Conscientious objectors.

Four years have passed since feminists began a long, often stormy campaign to abolish a Fascist-era statute that made abortion "a crime against the sanctity of the race." Two months have elapsed since Parliament, under continuing feminist pressure, passed the law that legalized abortion for the first time in the country's history. But the struggle against abortion continues, waged by the church and the Italian medical profession. The day after the law's passage, top Italian bishops called for massive resistance to the bill. At the beginning of June, Ugo Cardinal Poletti, highest-ranking prelate in Rome after the Pope, urged doctors to take advantage of the conscientious objection clause.

All objection forms were to be turned in by July 6. On July 7 the new left newspaper *Manifesto* reported wryly that even dentists, ophthalmologists and orthopedists had signed objection forms. (According to the law, only obstetricians and gynecologists can perform the operation.)

Objection levels were predictably highest in the church-bound South, which is also the area most massively subservient to Italy's Vatican-associated, ruling Christian Democratic party. In Naples, the opposition was reckoned at 70 percent. In the Abruzzi and in Sicily it was almost total. But even in the industrialized North, and within regions traditionally governed by the Communist party, conscientious objection reached surprising proportions. In Communist-governed Bologna the official proportion of objectors was 42 percent.

Return to illegal means.

Hospitals in most Italian cities are typically overcrowded and understaffed. In the current situation the crowding of maternity wards has made abortion difficult and sometimes impossible for women to obtain. In late June there were 200 names on the *Policlinico's* waiting list. At San Giacomo, a public hospital at the center of Rome, the situation was much the same. "I've done nothing but answer desperate phone calls from women who want abortions," said Dr. Graziana Delpierre, an anesthesiologist there. "We're so overbooked that we'll have to begin turning women away." According to *Noi Donne—We Women*, a weekly magazine of widespread circulation published by the Italian Women's Union, a national organization loosely identified with the Communist party, overcrowding in some hospitals has forced staffs to cram women two or three to a bed in the recovery period following abortion.

Since the law passed, women's groups have feared that many women, intimidated by the obstacles to legal abortion, will resort again to illegal means. In early July



The refusal of doctors to perform abortions has sparked occupations and demonstrations by a reawakened women's movement.

eaucracies, general practitioners called *condotti* hold greatest power in Italy's country towns and villages. Ninety percent of the *condotti* oppose abortion. When questioned about the issue, Dr. Luigi Pignataro, president of the order of *condotti* in the countryside around Rome, threw the burden of responsibility onto his patients. "The Italian woman, at least in the center of Italy and in the South, isn't ready to swallow legalized abortion. Maybe," he added vaguely, "some changes will come about little by little." Will the *condotti* aid in the slow evolution that will enlighten their sup-

get abortion, or had to face long waiting lists: only one doctor in that city of 200,000 was available. In Milan, 200 women gathered before the doors of a regional health office, ticking off the names of former black marketeers turned conscientious objectors, and calling for enforcement of the law. One woman, representing a women's collective from a Milanese new left radio station, declared, "For the first time in months the women's movement has come to a new unity."

At the same time, the anti-abortionists remain united and persistent. It is rumored that the Christian Democrats will

Daniela Colombo



In December 1975, 20,000 women marched on Rome demanding abortion reform. The banner reads: "Priests, bosses, and government won't stop Palermo's women any longer." But with abortion reform won, the struggle hasn't abated.

their fears were confirmed. Angela Manigrasso, 32, mother of three, afraid of taking the legal route in her native town in Apulia, deep in the country's South, turned to a back-alley abortionist to terminate her fourth pregnancy. The following day she developed severe abdominal pains. Hours later, she died.

The barons.

The medical profession is controlled by a small group of men popularly known as the "barons." Mainly in their fifties and sixties, heads of hospitals, medical school departments and regional health boards, they form an old boys' network through which young doctors get their first jobs and within which they advance their careers. Most of the barons oppose abortion, and thus younger doctors who might otherwise perform abortions have become objectors. "Even if doctors were courageous enough to perform abortions," one medical student said, "they'd be in a minority and they'd be given only abortions to perform. And no one wants to do that for long." As for the barons, he continued, "they can make life hell for doctors who are willing to go along with the law."

While the barons hold sway in the cities and upper echelons of regional health bur-

posedly benighted female patients? No, said Pignataro—not when it comes to abortion. "We don't want an abortion mentality to spread," he declared. "We'll avoid abortion by launching a campaign around contraceptives."

Women's movement unites.

The Italian women's movement has been calling for public education around contraceptives, which have been legal in the country only since 1971. That has not been forthcoming, nor have contraceptive consultation centers, provided for by a 1976 law, been set up in any numbers.

In 1976 the movement brought 50,000 women to Rome to press Parliament on the abortion reform issue. But this past June one Roman feminist, echoing a common sentiment, said she felt there was little unity in the movement and little possibility that the 1976 demonstration could be repeated. However, in the face of church and radical opposition to the new law, the movement has regained some of its strength.

During the first two weeks in July, as the *Policlinico* occupation continued, spontaneous demonstrations cropped up around the country. In Trieste, hundreds of women occupied the regional health office, complaining that women could not

try to test the constitutionality of the law. If that happens, the reaction of the powerful Communist party will be important. At present, many feminists do not trust the Communists. During the Parliamentary debates that preceded the law's passage the Communists made significant concessions to the Christian Democrats. The most serious of these, feminists feel, was a last-minute change in which the minimum age for women seeking abortions was raised from 16 to 18. Minors in need of abortion must get parental consent—exactly the sort of measure anti-abortionists in the U.S. have tried to ramrod through in several states.

Whatever happens on the political scene in the next months, women who have gotten abortions in the past—between one and three million yearly, according to official estimates—will continue doing so. The only question is whether they will do so legally and safely or whether they will go the route of Angela Manigrasso and the millions of Italian women who resorted before May to the midwife's probe, the knitting needle, and to home remedies that often killed.

Ellen Cantarow has traveled frequently to Italy and written about the women's movement there. She is the feminist columnist for *The Real Paper* in Cambridge, Mass.

WAS JAMES EARL RAY FRAMED BY POLICE?



On Aug. 14, the House Select Committee on Assassinations will begin public hearings in Washington on the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. These hearings are the culmination of over a year and a half of interviews, subpoenas, closed hearings, ballistics and medical analyses related to the circumstances surrounding the deaths of both King and John F. Kennedy.

One of the first witnesses scheduled to appear before the committee is James Earl Ray, the man convicted of assassinating King, now serving a 99-year prison sentence at Brushy Mountain State Prison in Tennessee.

Recently, Russell Byers, a former auto parts dealer from St. Louis, has emerged as a key figure in the investigation. Byers reportedly told the committee over three months ago that he was offered \$50,000 to arrange the death of King in late 1967 or early 1968. The two Imperial, Mo., men named by Byers as the bearers of the offer are both dead. The source of the offer, reputed to be a businessmen's group, remains a matter of speculation.

Although Byers' testimony has not been corroborated by any physical evidence, the House committee is pursuing a series of circumstantial links between

him, the men who are said to have made the offer, and people inside the Missouri State Penitentiary where James Earl Ray was incarcerated at the time.

"An administrative error" was the phrase used by an FBI spokesperson in explaining why five years ago, when Byers' account of the offer originally reached FBI officials in the St. Louis field office, no further investigation was initiated. The bureau refuses to identify the agent, who has since retired.



Apparently the report on the allegations was made and then filed, contrary to a regulation that requires any information on a specific crime to be forwarded to the agents working on that case. The bureau maintained it was "an honest error" and stated that the incident was not in any way an attempt to block a full investigation.

Mark Lane, attorney for James Earl Ray and author of *RUSH TO JUDGMENT*, Continued on next page.

a book critical of the Warren Commission's examination of the JFK assassination, raises the question of FBI involvement in the events leading to the King murder and the subsequent investigation.

In the following report, the successful efforts of the bureau to force King to relocate in the black-owned Lorraine Motel, the scene of the shooting, are detailed. The extraordinary conditions involved in Ray's confession are discussed.

And, although she is not mentioned in current media coverage of the investigation, there is another key figure in the case—Grace Walden. Walden, released in May of this year, has spent the last ten years in involuntary confinement at the Western State Hospital in Bolivar, Tenn. Committed by the Homicide Squad of the Memphis Police Department shortly after the shooting, she may possibly be the only eye-witness to the escape of King's assassin.

Part One The Burgeoning Coalition: Prologue to Murder

During the Spring of 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was engaged in perhaps the most important organizing work of his life. During the 1950s he imaginatively and persistently confronted racism in the southern states. A decade later he marched against the entrenched urban racism and systems of segregation in large northern cities. In 1967 he spoke out eloquently and forcefully against American participation in the war in Vietnam. He compared the tactics employed by the American military against the civilian population in Southeast Asia with those utilized by the Nazis a quarter of a century earlier.

Despite the illegal actions of American intelligence organizations, which were relatively effective in creating divisions in the leadership of the movements for justice and peace, Dr. King had helped to forge a new American coalition. He had learned a great deal about the power structure while serving time in the Birmingham jail, while being assaulted in the streets of Chicago, and while leading blacks and young whites in demands for an end to the war in Vietnam. During the Spring of 1968 he planned at last to confront the American economic structure. He had issued a call to poor people to meet in Washington, D.C., during April and to remain there until they forced the government to make changes in the economic system. In his prophetic ministry he envisioned a rainbow of Americans, poor white and black, yellow, red and brown, camped in front of the House and Senate and other government buildings for as long as it took to demonstrate the need for fundamental changes in the social system.

The President and his advisors feared that confrontation. Leaders of the Senate and of the House felt obliged to indulge in orgies of racist rhetoric. The fine hand of American intelligence agencies drafted speeches to be read on the floor of the Senate by dutiful members of what, with pride, they referred to as the most exclusive club in the world. J. Edgar Hoover's pathological obsession with Dr. King, who had taught a new morality to a country that had condoned native American genocide and black slavery, was prepared to move to the next stage of struggle. His legions were no longer to be confined to long-suffering blacks in the southern states and the sprinkling of support from northern liberals more inclined to help finance Dr. King's southern struggles than to confront racism in their own communities.

The new coalition included the poor of every color and of every ethnic group, together with the tens of thousands of young people who opposed the war in Vietnam on every college campus in America and in every city and town as well, seriously discomfited the established leadership.

Publications like *Reader's Digest*,

alarmed by the intelligence organizations to this new peril, warned: "The U.S. may face a civil crisis this April when the Poor People's Army pitches camp in the Nation's Capital." Emergency meetings at the White House brought together functionaries within the Department of Justice, the Pentagon and the local police forces to coordinate strategy. Alarmists in the government viewed the campaign as a precursor to revolution. Their assessments made in a climate of panic and hysteria, were clearly exaggerated, yet they knew the coalition possessed the potential to bring about change.

On April 4, 1968, just before the Poor People's March was scheduled to reach Washington, Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis, Tenn. Despite the efforts of many women and men of good will, the coalition he headed began to deteriorate. It soon ceased to exist.

Part Two Memphis

During the early days of 1968, the sanitation workers in Memphis, most of them black, went on strike. Their effort was characterized by the slogan "I am a man." Wages, working conditions and racism were issues in the strike. Yet, the heart of their demands was the recognition of the dignity of their labor. This core issue quickly gained the support of the Rev. James M. Lawson, the minister at the Centenary United Methodist Church in Memphis. Lawson had worked closely with King for more than a decade, was the spiritual founder of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a teacher of non-violence within King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

As the Chairman of the Strategy Committee for the sanitation strike, Rev. Lawson urged Dr. King to lead a massive non-violent march in Memphis on March 28. Some of those around King urged him to forego the Memphis trip and to concentrate his attention on the planned national campaign in Washington. King reminded them of the Biblical injunction to provide help for "the least of these." The central issue around which the strike centered proved irresistible to King; but despite him, the march through Memphis was converted into a violent conflict with the local police. Rev. Lawson remembers it well.

"There was a militant black youth organization called the Invaders. They were distinguished by their rhetoric and their black leather jackets. When store windows were smashed and the confrontation began, many people thought that the Invaders had initiated the violence. But I knew who the Invaders were and while those who were smashing windows were young and clad in black leather jackets, I had never seen them in Memphis before. They were not members of the Invaders," Lawson said.

"I was at the head of the march when the violence broke out. Windows were being shattered around us and behind us and the police took no action. I told Martin that he should leave the line of march. He refused. I told him it was no longer our march, that it had been taken over by others and that we would have to come back and finish it another day. I called several ministers and together we urged and almost coerced Martin into entering a car. We agreed that he should go to the Holiday Inn Rivermont outside of the downtown area because it provided excellent security. I remained on at the head of the march and tried to prevent further violence. As I look back now, I wonder if the plan was to kill Martin in the block that loomed ahead of us because it was there that the confrontation with the police really began. If Martin had been killed in that melee, no one would ever have known who did it and no doubt a good part of the blame would have been placed upon the 'black militants' who had initiated the violence."

The following day, Sen. Robert Byrd called upon the Congress to enjoin Dr.

King from carrying out the Poor People's Campaign in Washington. In his speech he referred to King as a "self-serving rabble-rouser" and said that King, if not enjoined by Congress, would create "violence, destruction, looting and bloodshed" in Washington. He added, "King intends to create a black hole of despair with people packed together with pigs and chickens in a 'shanty town' lacking sanitation. Surely he must know that to change hearts it is not necessary to turn stomachs. It can be assumed that, however, if yesterday's flight by King from the disorder he had helped to generate was any indication of what he might do here, the 'Messiah' himself will not share the squalor he plans and that instead he will be conducting a lay-in at a posh Washington hotel to dramatize some imaginary discrimination here."

Several years later, the Church Committee of the U.S. Senate revealed that Cartha De Loach, then a top FBI official, reported to Clyde Tolson, who served just under J. Edgar Hoover in the FBI, that Byrd wanted to prevent Dr. King from coming to Washington and said that Byrd had said it was time that "King met his Waterloo." The memo reveals that Byrd asked the FBI to prepare a scurrilous attack upon Dr.

Grace Walden was taken by Memphis police to be kept in the hospital until after Ray's trial.

King for him to deliver on the floor of the Senate. The word "Messiah" was regularly used to describe Dr. King in FBI memos.

A high-level FBI memorandum suggested that the Bureau destroy King, remove him from leadership and replace him with a "Black Messiah" created by the FBI. The comment about a "lay-in" at a Washington hotel referred to the FBI's sexpionage campaign against King. And the phrase "posh Washington hotel" may have been calculated by the FBI to drive King out of the Holiday Inn Rivermont, the most modern hotel in Memphis at the time, and into the more modest Lorraine Motel that provided no security.

The FBI, not known for its subtlety, found a more direct way to encourage King to abandon the security of the Holiday Inn Rivermont and register instead at the Lorraine Motel. Hoover ordered Robert Jensen, Special Agent in Charge of the Memphis Division of the FBI, to prepare a press release which was "not to be attributed" to the FBI. It pointed out that King was urging blacks to boycott white-owned establishments in Memphis while he himself was planning to stay at a white-owned Holiday Inn. The FBI release boldly stated that King should stay, instead, at the Lorraine Motel, "owned and operated by Negroes." In the furor engendered by the manipulation of the media and political leaders by the intelligence organizations, King's aides reserved a room for him at the Lorraine Motel. A few days later he was dead.

Part Three The Rooming House

The shot that killed King was fired at 6:01 p.m. Within minutes, the local police and the FBI had determined that it had been fired from a community bathroom on the second floor of a rooming house at 418½ South Main St. One of the first reporters to arrive at the scene was Wayne Chastain, then a reporter for the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, now a prac-

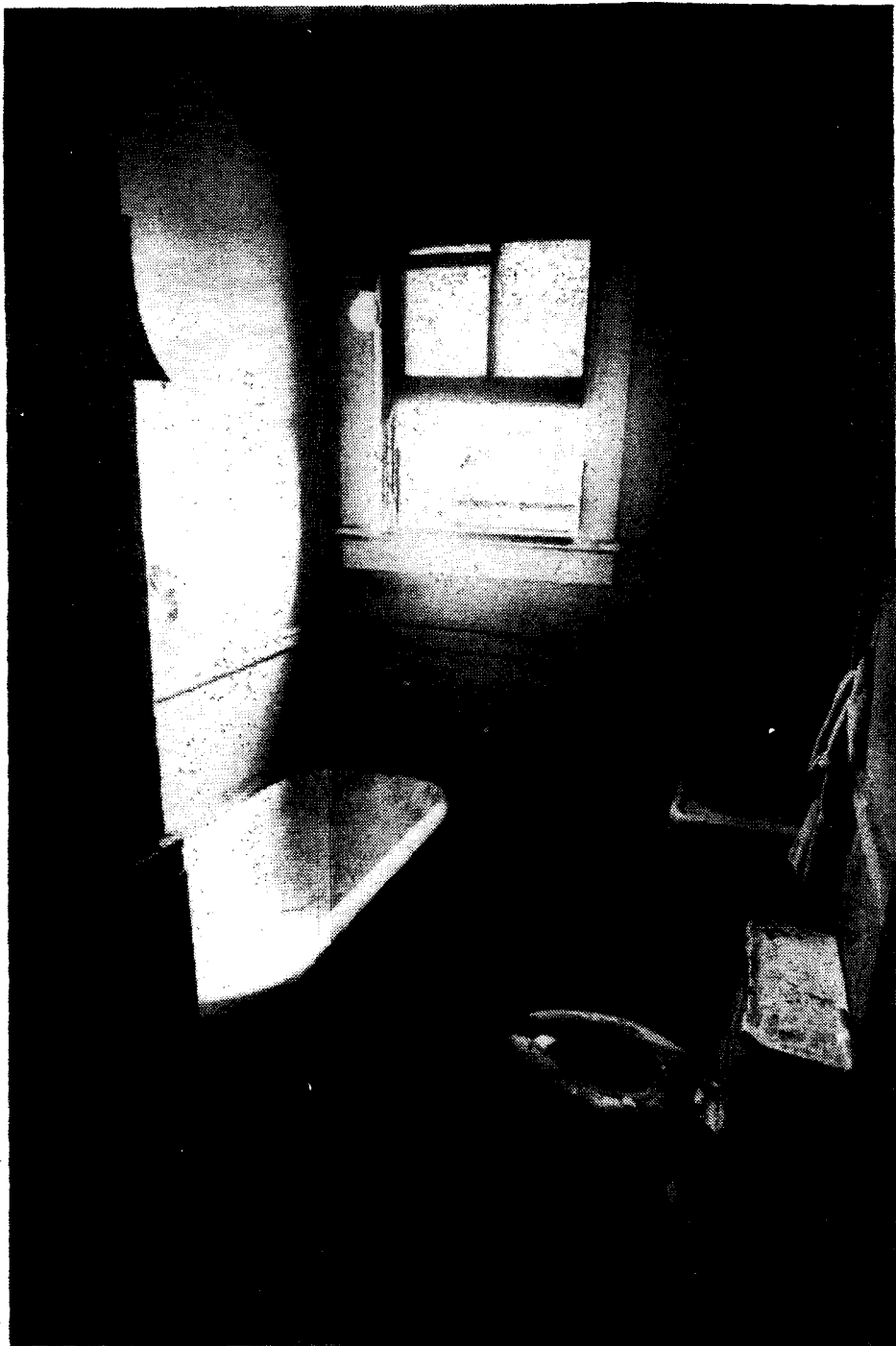
ticing lawyer in Memphis. He believes that he arrived in the rooming house at approximately 6:30 that evening where he met Grace Walden and Charles Q. Stephens, both of whom lived in the two-room apartment next to the community bathroom from which the shot had been fired.

"Grace Walden described the man she had seen flee from the bathroom. He was short and had salt-and-pepper hair. A man in his late 50s. She appeared to me to be sober and alert but in a somewhat weakened condition. I believe she said she had recently been released from the hospital for some physical ailment. Charlie Stephens, on the other hand, was wildly drunk. Bessie Brewer, who ran the rooming house, told me to pay no attention to Charlie since he was drunk and didn't know what he was talking about. I distinctly recall that Charlie Stephens said to me, 'It was a nigger what done it.'"

The police arrived on the scene and took Walden and Stephens to headquarters where they were questioned. Walden stated that the man she saw flee from the bathroom held something in his right hand and that he was approximately 5 feet 5 inches tall, very thin, had a dark complexion, and was in his late 50s or early 60s. She said that he wore a hunting jacket of neutral color that was open near the neck and that she could see a bright plaid or checkered shirt under the jacket. According to Thomas Smith, the Chief Investigator for the Memphis Police of the King assassination, Charles Stephens "was in a drunken condition and unable to tell us anything at that time." Smith is now a Memphis police captain in charge of homicide. Earlier this year he told a reporter for BBC-television that he had seen Stephens minutes after the assassination and that Stephens was drunk at that time and unable to provide information.

Approximately two months later, James Earl Ray was arrested in London. At that time, FBI agents asked Grace Walden to sign an affidavit so that Ray could be extradited. When she saw Ray's picture she said, "They got the wrong man. This man doesn't look anything at all like the man I saw come out of the bathroom." At the time Ray was 39 years old. Ray is 5 feet 11 inches. Ray has a light complexion. Walden refused to sign the affidavit. She was threatened and frightened by the agents but refused to identify Ray as the man she had seen. "The fact is, it doesn't look a thing like him," she said. Shortly after she arrived home, Walden was arrested by two officers of the Memphis Homicide Squad and taken to the mental ward of the John Gaston Hospital, the city hospital in Memphis. She was held there for several weeks and then committed to the Western State Hospital in Bolivar, Tenn. The charge made against her was that she was hallucinating, that "the patient thinks she was a witness to the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King." She was held in seclusion in that institution as the defense team sought to prepare the case for James Earl Ray. The notation in the hospital record stated that she should be "kept in the hospital until the Ray murder trial is over." The hospital record also revealed that she was not to be released until the Homicide Squad of the Memphis Police Department said so. Ten years later she was still at the mental institution at Bolivar, Tenn.

With Grace Walden out of the way, Memphis police arranged for Charlie Stephens, who had been arrested more than 200 times for being publicly drunk, to get all the liquor he wished and that the Police Department would pay for it. In that condition and after he had been promised a \$100,000 reward, Charles Q. Stephens signed an affidavit identifying James Earl Ray as the man he saw flee from the bathroom after the shot was fired. The federal authorities who prepared that affidavit and submitted it to a court in London in order to secure Ray's presence in Memphis, knew that the affidavit was false. Yet, with the exception of James Earl Ray's own coerced confession, the only evidence that ties Ray to the murder is the perjured affidavit.



Photos/Norris McNamara

Part Four The Confession

Even as the Department of Justice was forwarding the perjured Stephens affidavit to the authorities in London, the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the FBI were preparing a torture chamber for James Earl Ray in the Shelby County jail in Memphis. Although they had no authority to act in the case of *The People of Tennessee against James Earl Ray*, the FBI took it over from the Memphis Police on April 4, 1968. By the time Ray was in custody in London, federal authorities were reconstructing a Memphis jail cell for him. Heavy steel plates were installed on all the windows previously secured by bars. Fresh air and natural light were excluded from the cell. Bright lights and two closed-circuit television cameras were installed. Microphones were placed in the cell to pick up and magnify every sound made by the prisoner, including his breathing. One prison guard said, "We could hear a roach walk across the cell floor."

Two months after Ray had been confined under these conditions, his attorney, Arthur Hanes, filed a motion requesting an order directing the Shelby County Sheriff to "cease and desist from the use of television lights, cameras and microphones to constantly surveil the defendant." The motion stated that "the presence of said illumination and surveillance has deprived defendant of the opportunity to rest or sleep, has a tendency to cause defendant to be nervous and disturbed, and constitutes an electronic form of cruel and unusual punishment."

The Memphis District Attorney General, who prepared the case against Ray, said that the lights, microphones and cameras were required to protect the defendant Ray and to keep him from escaping. The Memphis judge found that "the security complained of is for the benefit of the defendant." For almost eight months James Earl Ray was confined to that torture chamber. Two guards remained in the cell with him at all times and two guards remained just beyond the bars watching him. Ray be-

gan to lose weight. His body broke out into a rash. His nose began to bleed.

As the physical environment diminished Ray's ability to resist, the federal police waged a psychological war against him. He was informed that if he did not plead guilty, his brother Jerry would be indicted as a co-conspirator in the murder of Dr. King and probably executed. Ray responded that neither he nor his brother had killed King and that he was not afraid of a trial. Finally he was informed that the FBI had determined that Ray's father, then an elderly man, had violated parole in Iowa more than 40 years before. Ray was informed that if he did not agree to plead guilty, his father would be arrested, transported to Iowa and, in all probability, die in prison. Ray's resistance collapsed. He agreed to plead guilty.

But when Ray pleaded guilty in open court he asserted that there had been a conspiracy to kill King. The trial judge ordered him to remain silent.

Part Five The Tenth Anniversary

April 4, 1978, marked the tenth anniversary of King's assassination. Each year the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the parent union of the sanitation workers, has memorialized Dr. King. In preparation for the tenth anniversary, Rev. Lawson met with religious and trade union leaders in Memphis. On April 3, 1978, Lawson and I met with Roman Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, black and white, to discuss the assassination. I discussed with them the evidence regarding Grace Walden and James Earl Ray.

The following day at an unprecedented news conference, the religious leaders of Memphis, joined by black civil rights leaders from throughout the country, demanded the immediate release of Grace Walden and a trial for James Earl Ray. Rev. Samuel Kyles, at whose home King was to have had dinner just ten years before, read the statement. Jesse Jackson, with whom Dr.

King was speaking when he was killed, eloquently supported the demand. Later that day, Rev. Lawson and others led 5,000 people in a solemn march past the Lorraine Motel and into the Orpheum Theatre.

"I did not believe it then and I do not believe now that James Earl Ray pulled the trigger," he said. Later Lawson said, "There can be no question now as to where blacks in Memphis stand on the question of a trial for James Earl Ray."

Shock waves from the tenth anniversary celebration were immediately felt in the state capital. Black and white ministers and priests, supported by trade union leaders and masses of workers, demanded freedom for Grace Walden and a trial for James Earl Ray. A pro-FBI police reporter for a local television station in Memphis was summoned to Bolivar, Tenn., where in violation of federal law and state statute, he was permitted to conduct a filmed interview with Grace Walden. The highly edited version was shown that evening on the Memphis CBS affiliate was designed to demonstrate that Grace Walden was mentally incompetent. Before the inter-

the hour and after brushing past the guards, asked Grace if she would like to accompany me to dinner. I assured the proprietors of the institution that the Probate Court Judge had said that I could have dinner with her. Grace put on her coat, told the proprietor that "I'll be back in an hour or two," then looked at me and winked. We drove to the Memphis airport.

When we arrived in Los Angeles later that evening, more than half a dozen ministers and priests and 100 other supporters were at the airport. Two FBI agents monitored our arrival. Almost immediately the lawyer who had been appointed Walden's guardian filed a petition in the Memphis Probate Court citing me for contempt of court for having left the jurisdiction with Grace.

I returned to Memphis to answer the citation and following a six-hour hearing, in which I was strongly supported by the Memphis clergy, the court dismissed the contempt citation and appointed me as Walden's guardian. I agreed to undertake that assignment with the understanding that my first act would be to secure all of her hospital records, which had been previously unavailable to us and to her, and that I would then move to dismiss myself as her guardian since she was competent.

Part Seven The Burgeoning Coalition: Prologue to Change

Following the escape of Grace Walden, a new organization, the Committee for Truth and Justice Regarding the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, emerged under the leadership of Rev.



view began she was given psychiatric drugs. Yet, through the drugs and the manipulated interview came her simple and clear message. "Like I've said all these years, they've got the wrong man. James Earl Ray was not the man who came out of the bathroom ten years ago."

Surreptitiously, the state authorities placed Walden in a boarding house in Memphis, had a local Memphis lawyer appointed as her guardian and announced that she had been freed.

Part Six Flight to Freedom

I flew to Memphis and while there I was able to inform Grace Walden of my local telephone number. She called me at once and asked me to help her escape. I told her I would be there within half an hour and asked her if she would like to return to California with me. She said, "That would be just grand." I arrived at the boarding house within

Lawson. The Rev. Joseph Lowrey, president of the SCLC, the position King held at the time of his death, was chosen as one of the chairmen, along with Rev. Jesse Jackson and leaders of other civil rights organizations. Professor Linus Pauling, Dr. Benjamin Spock, trade union leaders and members of clergy throughout the country agreed to participate. In Los Angeles a group of 25 priests, rabbis and ministers immediately formed a support group. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists led by William Lucey demanded a trial for James Earl Ray. Priests and ministers, trade unionists, civil rights organizations and white and black workers in Memphis made plans to march on the Democratic Mini-Convention, scheduled for Memphis in December, and demand a trial for James Earl Ray. ■

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Tax relief for the wealthy

While the lion's share of public attention has focused on cutting state taxes, the rich are making off with a huge federal tax steal in Congress. The tax system that candidate Carter called a "disgrace to the human race" will, if possible, be a bigger disgrace if the Revenue Act of 1978, passed by the House Ways and Means Committee July 27, becomes law.

Not satisfied with the most regressive income tax system among the advanced industrial-capitalist countries, the rich and their congressional allies are brazenly turning the principle of progressive taxation on its head. The bill provides for tax cuts that rise with income.

It would give tax-payers with incomes ranging from under \$5,000 to \$20,000 the munificent sums of \$19 to \$118 in average tax cuts, while granting those in the \$20,000 to \$50,000 range average cuts of \$219 to \$943. Those in the \$100,000 to \$200,000 range would average a cut of \$1,740, and those struggling along at incomes over \$200,000 an average of \$9,940.

The bill cuts the *nominal* tax rate on the income of the giant corporations from 48 to 46 percent. It permits businesses to increase the amount of tax liability that can be offset in a single year by investment tax credits to 90 percent, up from 50 percent (to be phased in at the rate of 10 percent per year). And it provides whopping windfalls to the wealthy by sharp cuts in the capital gains tax.

About 96 percent of the capital gains

tax cut will go to those with incomes of \$50,000 and more. Those with incomes of \$200,000 and more will average a capital gains tax cut of over \$27,000, the equivalent of almost twice the entire annual median family income of Americans.

To save the rich from the ravages of

median will get the other seven-eighths.

The House tax bill shows that the wealthy can no longer be accused of opposing the welfare state—only that they want the welfare for themselves instead of for those with lower and middle incomes.

Already enjoying the most regressive income tax in the world, the rich are turning progressive taxation on its ear.

inflation, the amount of capital gains subject to taxation will be indexed to the consumer price index and reduced by the amount of the CPI's increase each year. But personal income will get no such favors.

To make sure the rich and their congressional friends will continue to enjoy the diet to which they have grown accustomed, at public expense, amendments to end or limit tax deductions for business entertainment expenses, and for business entertainment of members of Congress, were killed.

Overall, the 52 percent of American taxpayers who make less than the median family income of \$15,000 will get one-eighth of all the tax cuts for individuals; the taxpayers with incomes above the

It also shows that the right wing can claim no monopoly on reactionary tax programs. Thirteen Democrats joined 12 Republicans in the House Ways and Means Committee in voting for the bill, against 12 Democrats.

One of the Democrats who voted against these cuts, Abner J. Mikva of Illinois, called the bill "outrageous," but could do little against the bi-partisan majority, whose outlook was candidly summed up by Committee chair Al Ullman when he said, "This obviously is not a tax reform bill." Indeed, compared with this bill, the Roth-Kemp bill, which is most closely associated with the political right, and which would provide for an across-the-board one-third reduction in income tax rates (see Dan Marshall's

story, page 7), is positively progressive.

For all their rhetoric about the glories of the free market, the rich and the corporations do not hesitate to use the government to redistribute income in their favor and to allocate investment funds for their own profitable use. As the bill shows, the price of plying the rich with the "incentives" they demand for running the economy become ever higher in income maldistribution and social injustice.

The tax bill bears little resemblance to the tax program Carter sent to Congress last January, and still less to the tax proposals Carter made while campaigning for the presidency. But Carter seems unable or unwilling to push his own program through Congress.

The House tax bill highlights once again the reasons for deepening disaffection among unionists, women and blacks from the Carter administration. And it helps explain the erosion of popular attachment to the two major parties. Along with phenomena like California's Proposition 13, moreover, it underscores the need to place as much, if not more, emphasis on creating anti-corporate political coalitions in congressional and state legislative elections as in gubernatorial and Presidential elections.

Without a strong left in Congress, the state legislatures, and among the people at large, there will only be more "capital gains" regardless of who sits in the state houses or the White House. ■

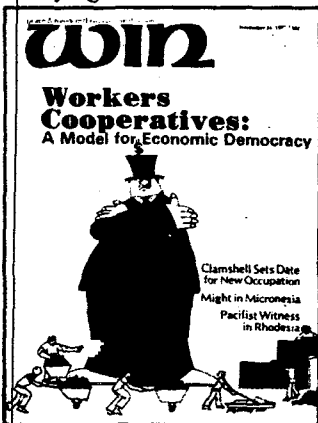
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Letters

Gay teachers

JOSHUA DRESSLER'S ARTICLE about law students' attitudes toward gay rights (*ITT*, July 12) was fine. However, I dislike the way he claims to have refuted Anita Bryant's argument that children exposed to homosexuals have an increased tendency to become gay. Dressler's "refutation" is that "non-gay" law students had exactly the same percentage of gay teachers in their youth as did the gay law students."

But the most glaring shortcoming of the article is the felt need to refute Bryant's argument. "Save Our Children" would carry no weight if people did not believe Anita was saving them from perversion. Presentation of statistical results against the "role-model" argument implicitly accepts Bryant's assumption of homosexual evil.

A more useful way to interpret Dressler's data may be that gay teachers do have a small effect on children's subsequent lifestyle, by exposing them to yet another sexual and political option. But massive heterosexual conditioning elsewhere in children's experience "cancels out" that effect.

A more progressive and effective stance against the "Save Our Children" crusaders would be to answer their role-model argument with, "So what?" Our best response is to (1) support homosexual and lesbian rights to interact with children; (2) encourage the expansion of children's experience with all kinds of people; and (3) support our children's decisions concerning their own sexual and political lifestyles. —**Elaine McCrate**
Columbus, Ohio

Another regional slur

IN AN ARTICLE ABOUT TOM ROBINSON (*ITT*, July 12) Michael Goldberg of San Francisco writes that: "Capitol Records reinforces stereotypic male/female roles in its country music releases..." I cannot understand—and Goldberg does not explain—what it is that makes country music more sexist than, say, rock. B. Could it be that the truth of C's claim is obvious to any intelligent listener? Or could it be that Goldberg has given us another regional slur? I think an explanation is in order.

—**Dick J. Reavis**
Austin, Texas

Aid to private schools

INOTE THAT SARAH YOUNG (*ITT*, June 21)—and, I am sure, many of your readers—would like to see more feminist in-put in *ITT*. This is due to their desire to see justice flourish in the socialist effort. But justice in any field requires that facts be faced squarely and be balanced.

As a feminist, I contend that your editorial (*ITT*, June 21) fails to do this. You seem to think that it is unconstitutional to help support private schools because to do so would indirectly help religion. But your interpretation of the constitution on this is unnecessarily narrow. Take the case of Providence-St. Mel High School in Chicago. It is a private high school struggling to exist. Only 40 percent of the predominantly black student body is Catholic. Thousands of teenage blacks have been educated in this school, 90 percent of whom go on to higher education.

The Catholics of Chicago who have until now supported this high school, find that they can no longer do so. As it is, they have been paying double taxation for education: paying for the support of public schools as well as for their own private schools. Is this justice? Is it just to penalize students who prefer to send their teenagers to schools under re-

ligious auspices where religious motivation maintains a high level of excellence in studies and in conduct?

If the tax-credit bill gives most benefits to the 78 percent who do not need them, the bill should be re-written. Make financially possible more religiously oriented schools and the nation will save millions of dollars annually by cutting down the cost of teenage vandalism and crime as well as on the adult corruption which robs us of \$25 billion every year.

—**Agnes Ducey**
Chicago

Beware social democracy

YOU HAVE PUBLISHED A steady stream of letters warning you of the pitfalls of social democracy, etc. Read them!

Helmudt Schmidt, Yitzhak Rabin, James Callaghan are social democrats. True to their legacy, their politics are imperialistic, partisan to capital whenever its needs are challenged by working people, and frequently opposed to the free exercise of even "bourgeois" civil liberties such as free speech. While the majority of the "left" in the U.S. today is situated closer to the social democratic perspective than to a class-based one—i.e., socialist—the responsibility of a non-sectarian socialist paper is to present a plurality of socialist perspectives.

Blurring the line between socialist perspectives and non-socialist ones under the guise of pluralistic socialism might make *ITT* palatable to a wider audience in the short run, but it does so at the expense of helping perpetuate the prevailing false consciousness that identifies socialism with an expanded version of our present ineffective and increasingly authoritarian welfare state.

Your treatment of the Bakke decision (*ITT*, July 12) is a case in point, the main article (Sperber's) being a bourgeois critique of bourgeois jurisprudence. A socialist analysis (or many analyses), the outlines of which can be gleaned from Martin Brown's article and your editorial, should have been the exclusive concern of *ITT*. Unlike liberal critiques whose inadequacy is so clearly manifested by Sperber's conclusion which decries the fraudulence of "reverse" discrimination, socialist investigations situate their subject matter within society.

It is disquieting to see *ITT*'s journalism express so broad a range of political perspectives that it might actually leave some room for the "socialism" of Monsieur Barre.

Your socialist journalism, as embodied in the writing of John Judis, T.D. Allman's article on Egypt, and your editorials, to cite a few examples, have been consistently excellent.

—**Randy Baker**
Seattle, Wash.

Redbaiting in letters

IDON'T WANT TO BELABOR THE subject of *ITT*'s reportage on Cambodia, but Dean Pappas' response (*ITT*, July 19) to Walter Brotsky's letter (*ITT*, July 5) in turn deserves a response.

Brotsky criticized *ITT* for Roberta Lynch's column, which asserted that no Americans had visited Cambodia (now called Kampuchea) since its liberation. The truth is, as *ITT* acknowledged, that four reporters from the *Call* newspaper visited Kampuchea in April and have been writing a series of first-hand reports on their trip.

Now Pappas comes along and, in a diatribe clearly reminiscent of McCarthyism, says that we can't believe anything the *Call* says because they support China.

Not a word about Kampuchea; not a word about whether the *Call*'s reports contain "documented facts" or not; not a word about his opinion of what's happening in Kampuchea. Instead, just some old-fashioned red-baiting about the *Call*'s policies in other areas.

When the *Call* actually goes to Kampuchea, and presents an alternative to the usual CIA-inspired slanders of that

revolution, shouldn't we examine their analysis and judge it on its merits?

—**Frank Sloane**
Chicago

Not typical

YOU MADE A POOR CHOICE OF photographs (*ITT*, July 5) to represent the "pro-nuclear demonstrators" who showed up at the Clamshell Alliance's rally in Seabrook, N.H. The "Polish Freedom Fighter" in the photo is well-known to Boston-area progressives. He shows up regularly to disrupt progressive rallies and other events with picket signs that spew his neo-fascist, anti-Communist, anti-Semitic hatred.

He is hardly typical of the pro-nuclear demonstrators who, however misguided in the long-run, were predominantly working people legitimately concerned with the loss of jobs.

The Clamshell Alliance has done a spectacular job of dramatizing the environmental and economic dangers of nuclear power. But in the enthusiasm over the recent Nuclear Regulatory Commission decision to shut down the Seabrook site, made only a few days after the Clamshell rally, they failed to show any concern for the thousands of workers who will lose their jobs as a result. This is no way to build alliances with unionists and other working people. It is true that, in the long run, non-nuclear forms of energy will provide more jobs, but that doesn't pay next month's rent.

Clamshell has made some first steps in linking demands for a non-nuclear future with concern for economic justice. But in their statements celebrating the NRC's decision, you wouldn't know it. That is an error that Clamshell, and other environmentalists, cannot afford.

—**Peter Dreier**
Medford, Mass.

Poor Service

IREAD WITH INTEREST THE ARTICLE by Max Gordon (*ITT*, July 12) on the young Cuban exile returning to Cuba and finding it a happy and much more encouraging story than his parents had led him to believe. For those who can read Spanish there are a good number of similar stories plus important insights into that experience in the Spring 1978 issue of the Cuban left magazine *Areito* out of New York.

I was especially impressed by a piece of advice in the last paragraph of the Gordon article, which I had already heard from supporters of the revolution in Cuba: "Don't idealize our revolution. It has made many mistakes and has a long way to go."

That advice is not heeded by Gordon or by the editorial line of *IN THESE TIMES* and the articles you select for publication on Cuba. Your perspective is always of absolute uncritical support for the Castro regime. Such an approach is a poor service to the left in general (especially for a democratic socialist publication, which you claim to be), and to the Cuban Revolution in particular.

—**Michael Germinal Rivas**
Decatur, Ga.

I was there, Max

MAX GORDON'S ARTICLE about Cuba (*ITT*, July 12) suffers from tunnel vision, a characteristic of American leftists who want to believe in a Promised Land. I lived in Cuba during and after the revolution. What I am about to tell comes from experience, not wishful thinking or self-delusion.

Thousands of Cuban children were sent overseas in the early '60s because of the fear of war with the U.S. After the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs everyone on the island thought the Marines were next to land. The situation was similar to that of European children sent to the country to be spared the blitz during World War II. The "rumors" were of imminent civil war, not "that the Revolution was going to take the children away from their parents."

Camp Matecumbe, where I spent two months in '61, was not "disease ridden" as Gordon claims in his article. It was a summer camp that, although crowded, provided a temporary home for the children. We were well fed and taken care of by several Cuban married couples working for the Catholic Welfare Bureau and other Protestant and Jewish relief organizations. From there I went on to college while many of the younger children went to temporary foster homes throughout the U.S.

The bit about "little schooling" is false. We were bused to schools in the Miami area and a loan was made available, practically to anyone that requested it, to pay for our college education. The irrefutable success of the Cuban bourgeoisie in Miami is due, for the most part, to the enormous proportion of college graduates that financed their educations with the Cuban Loan, as it was called.

Gordon's article does a grave injustice to the generosity of the American people. The 700,000 Cuban exiles now living in the U.S. have been treated much better than the Chinese nationals in Vietnam. He sweeps under the carpet the fact that Castro is a dictator who has ruled Cuba for almost 20 years and that Amnesty International, among others, has cited the regime for violations of human rights.

—**Art Liebrez**
Annandale, Va.

When does history start?

THE SLIGHTLY CONDESCENDING suggestion of D.B. Lawrence (*ITT*, July 12) that one should "read some history" before deciding who is right in the Middle East conflict is nonetheless sound.

In his pro-Palestinian missive Lawrence states that "the problem started back in WWI" when the Balfour Declaration was issued, and the hopes of the Arabs for independence were betrayed. But a view of history limited to the 20th century serves only to obscure the full dimensions of the question. To do this is to ignore the fact that at no time in history, from 70 A.D. onward when the Romans destroyed the ancient Jewish state, did the Jews relinquish their claim to the territory that is Israel today. Long before the emergence of modern Zionism, on the lips of every Jew at Passover were the words, "Next year in Jerusalem!" The length of time that it took to realize the hope does not invalidate the claim but strengthens it.

Nationalism does not become suspect just because it is Jewish, the UN resolution on Zionism notwithstanding. Unstinting admiration is reserved for the efforts of Irish nationalists, but oh, that knowing glint when the word Zionism is heard.

I have read my history and for a better understanding of the situation and strategy that produced modern Jewish state I would advise a reading of the *Life of Count Cavour*, the "Brain of Italian Unity," who did not hesitate to accept aid from Napoleon III in the Austro-Sardinian war and from the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, in the Austro-Prussian war, neither of them a symbol of freedom and democracy.

—**Samuel Michelson**
Monticello, N.Y.

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Considered Opinion

Robert Eatherly's tortured soul

Claude Robert Eatherly is dead.

He was 57 years old and on July 7 his story made page 9 of one of the big West Coast dailies. He had to have been an important man to have rated a two-column head over a ten and a half inch story, complete with a one-column picture taken in 1946—in the San Francisco *Chronicle*.

Eatherly was important. In 1945 he was only 24 years old and he piloted a B-29, the biggest bomber we had. For two flights of his he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. His plane was named *Straight Flush*, which as all poker players know beats anything on the table.

Flying the *Straight Flush* on Aug. 6, 1945, Claude Eatherly found a hole in the cloud-cover and radioed another B-29 following him that was named *Enola Gay*.

Eatherly was acting as a scout. Through the hole in the clouds he saw a city and his message to the *Enola Gay* was: "Advice: Bomb primary."

Primary target was the city of Hiroshima and in the next few moments somewhere between 80,000 and 200,000 civilians died in the atomic fire.

Three days later Eatherly led the *Enola Gay* over Nagasaki and between 39,000 and 74,000 more died instantly. Nobody knows the exact number—and does it matter? In both cities, people have been dying ever since from radiation sickness—which acts like a form of cancer.

That was how Claude Eatherly won the Distinguished Flying Cross and became important. He did not actually drop the atomic eggs on a nation we knew was ready to surrender. He merely led the way

and pointed to the primary targets.

Nor would those particular people have been atomized if they had been "white"; this, too, has been admitted by those close to the decision to use our great invention.

Just as it was also admitted that had we made a public demonstration of the weapon before using it—three weeks after the first one was successfully exploded at Los Alamos, New Mexico—the Japanese would have surrendered immediately.

But what the hell, Mac—you make a thing like that, whose purpose is to kill more people than anything ever cooked up before, you gotta try it and see if it does what they say it will. Since then we have cooked up another thing that kills people—and leaves their property almost intact. When will we try it? Do you know?

* * *

In 1946 Eatherly was involved in testing nuclear bombs over an atoll in the Pacific named Bikini. (The name has since become famous, but not for nuclear tests.)

In those tests Eatherly was one of two pilots who was accidentally covered by the mushroom cloud. He lost his way briefly and later said it was the most horrible moment of his life. But there were other moments to come that were even more horrible.

In 1947, psychiatric tests revealed that Claude had "severe neurosis and guilt complex," and he was discharged from the service. After his funeral in Houston last month, his brother James told the press, "He never forgot those thousands

of people dying in those flames.

"I can remember him waking up, night after night, screaming. He said his brain was on fire. He said he could feel those people burning."

There were those who said he was some sort of nut. After all, it was war, wasn't it? And he didn't even drop the eggs himself.

Certainly his behavior was peculiar for a man acclaimed a hero. After his discharge from the Air Force he returned to Van Alstyne, Texas:

- In 1952 he was charged with forgery;
- In 1956 he was accused of burglarizing post offices in View and Avoca, Texas;

- Then, according to the UP story on his death, he was charged with robbery in Dallas and Galveston. At his trial he pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity and was committed to a Veterans Administration hospital.

* * *

While Claude was in that hospital in Waco, Texas, a German writer named Gunther Anders started to correspond with him and in 1961 he published a collection of their letters. The correspondence came to an end when Eatherly escaped from the hospital.

The title of that short book is *Burning Conscience* and it carries a preface by the late Bertrand Russell (Monthly Review Press). It is worth reading in the light of what followed.

For there are writers and there are writers. One of the more celebrated in our country is a man named William Bradford Huie who became famous for a book

called *The Execution of Private Slovik* (1954). This was the thoroughly researched and deeply moving story of a G.I. nobody who was scared stiff when he was headed for action in Belgium in World War II, deserted and turned himself in.

There was plenty of evidence that he was not exactly bright, but what made Eddie Slovik important is the fact that General of the Armies Eisenhower, faced with a rising rate of desertion, decided to authorize the execution of one of the deserters, Eddie Slovik: the first American soldier to have been so condemned since 1864. And he was shot to death by musketry on Jan. 31, 1945.

Ten years after *The Execution* was published, Huie published a book about Claude Eatherly called *The Hiroshima Pilot*. The gist of his argument in this book is that Eatherly did not have a "burning conscience" about what he and his fellow airmen had done over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but was probably a disordered personality from way back; that he was a habitual criminal with no regard for anything or anyone but himself; that he sought publicity and actually enjoyed being considered a political prisoner who had committed crimes seeking punishment for what he felt was his greatest—and unpunished—crime: the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In essence, said Huie, he was a phony.

The man is dead now, and the truth of his story may have died with him. Ironically, he died of cancer, which is a form of atomization of the body tissues. ■



Roberta Lynch

Choosing between a more perfect union and domestic tranquility

I am writing these words in the wake of the recent celebrations of the Fourth of July—the holiday that more than any other symbolizes America's identity. This year it was a day marked by neither the fervent patriotism of former times, nor the disquieting protests of a decade ago. A certain somnolence has settled over the land—a sense that we have pushed and pulled in order to try to "form a more perfect union"—and that perfection still eludes us. So, the feeling seems to be, perhaps we should simply settle for "domestic tranquility."

There has always existed a certain tension between these two goals so simply stated in the preamble of our nation's Constitution. The desire for a more perfect union constantly spurs Americans to struggle not just for higher wages or a second car, but for racial equality, for social welfare programs, for quality education, for care for the elderly. Most people crave not just their own immediate comfort, but the sense that they are part of a larger organism that is organized to "promote the general welfare."

It was this desire that led to the support for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, that spawned such social programs as Medicare, that sparked institutional upheavals within the churches and the educational system, and that fostered a dramatic re-evaluation of American foreign policy. For it was in the 1960s—more than any other time except perhaps the '30s—that we reached out for perfection, believing in our potential to transform ourselves and our environment.

And, god knows, we did try. It is difficult to believe—even in retrospect—that such great cultural, social, and political change could have been crammed into

such a short space of time. We all, even those on the farthest periphery of the movements of the day, lived in a kind of compression chamber in which the world seemed to be changing faster than any one individual could encompass or understand.

But try as we did, we did not succeed. And if life became better, it also became a good deal more complicated, less safe, less tranquil. There were abortion reforms that brought women greater sexual freedom, but since they were not accompanied by supportive changes in men or in the larger society, they also brought greater individual responsibility.

There was greater flexibility and openness in the churches, there was still little sense of how people should live. There was greater spending for welfare, public housing, health care, and so on, but since it was not accompanied by real justice for the disadvantaged, crime and urban decay continued to spread. There were affirmative action programs that helped to rectify past discrimination, but since they were not accompanied by a full employment economy, they also tended to stimulate competition and resentment.

And so, for many Americans the promise of the '60s did not seem to have produced greater perfection, but rather greater disarray. And as we crept wearily into the '70s, a reaction began to set in. Somewhat blindly and desperately, some people began to yearn for "domestic tranquility." Perhaps they felt that if it wasn't possible to make the necessary transformations, if in fact the attempts to do so seemed to backfire, offering unpredictable by-products, then possibly all you could do was to retreat. If you couldn't look out for

the general welfare, then you could at least look out for your own.

There is a certain logic (what the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci calls "common sense") in this response. Looked at in this light, many of the recent developments—the stop-ERA movement, the anti-abortion activities, the Bakke decision—do not simply represent a shift to a right-wing political ideology.

They may instead indicate a reaction against the failures of the process by which we set out to become more perfect—not that the goals were wrong, but that they were unrealistic and that it is only self-defeating to try to reach them.

Yet despite the seeming "logic" of this approach, it is off-base. It is a "common sense" based on an acceptance of the given order of things—a framework that can only allow certain kinds of changes. The '60s, for instance, despite the great social and political upheaval of the decade, left virtually untouched one of the most fundamental bases of our social order—our economic arrangements.

Social change, while requiring and inspiring its own momentum, cannot survive or flourish without accompanying economic change. The vision of the '60s—the war on poverty, the impulse toward egalitarianism, the rebellion against sexual repression, the opposition to the dehumanizing aspects of technology—was consistently thwarted and distorted because it was essentially in conflict with our economic system. It was not that the goals were unrealistic, but rather that the methods used—ones that left untouched a system of production for profit's sake alone—were necessarily ineffective.

And, eventually, the current hunger

for domestic tranquility will also be thwarted by the limitations of capitalism. For such tranquility cannot be maintained in the face of faltering school systems, exorbitant health care costs, environmental hazards, deadly jobs, or massive unemployment.

Today people are frustrated by rising taxes and government bureaucracy; they are threatened by changing family patterns and the loss of religious certainty; they are confused by corporate threats of plant shutdowns if environmental reforms are enacted.

But tomorrow (not literally, I'm afraid) will very likely demonstrate that the minor tax relief of the Jarvis-Gann bill will not really improve anyone's standard of living; that trying to halt the ERA cannot halt the erosion of family stability brought on by capitalism itself; that corporations will move when profit dictates unless they are legally prevented from doing so.

As these realities begin to emerge from the cloud of right-wing rhetoric that now hangs over so much of our national life, perhaps the myth that we must always swing on a pendulum between liberalism and conservatism, between progress and reaction, between reaching for perfection and settling for tranquility, will begin to disintegrate as well.

Perhaps people will begin to see that our potential lies in our ability to look beyond the given framework, to question not just our values, but the economic system that promotes such contradictory ones. That would be something to celebrate come some future Fourth of July. ■

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

Socialism means democracy and respect for nature

The following is a continuation of the discussion on an American-style socialism begun by Leland Stauber's three-part series, "For a Socialism That Works" (May 3, 10 and 17). We invite others to contribute to the discussion. Stauber's articles and the responses by John H. Brown (May 31) and Charles E. Lindblom (July 5) are available upon request for \$1.50.

By John Hardesty

There are only two problems with Leland Stauber's position in "For a Socialism That Works". (1) it isn't socialism, and (2) it won't work. There are at least three reasons why his system is not socialist: it is "commodity fetishist"; it is alienated and undemocratic; it is "productivist" without provision for what Marx called "the realm of freedom."

Commodity Fetishism.

According to Stauber's analysis, the only way to prevent "excessive government interference in the economy" and "a vast bureaucratic monstrosity" in a future socialist society is to organize the economy through the market. The forces of supply and demand and the profit-seeking motives of the individual firm, modified in unspecified ways by public policy, would determine prices, resource allocation, and output. He argues that the alternative of democratic planning is a "bankrupt idea." If so, then I submit socialism is a bankrupt idea.

Capitalism represents the ultimate development of an exchange-based, commodity producing society. It is no accident that Marx began *Capital* with an extensive section devoted to critical analysis of the commodity. As he pointed out, any society that relies primarily on commodity production suffers from "commodity fetishism." This means that inanimate material "things," such as money and the consumer items it purchases, by way of their visibility and economic function, take on enormous psychological significance and appear to people as what really matters in life; in fact, they seem to be life itself (and actually are).

Capitalist advertising and the sales effort merely magnify this effect present in all commodity producing societies. There

is a complementary tune played on the flip side of this phenomenon: the economic relationships between people become obscured because the only way people relate to each other as producers is through exchanges on the market. The market is alive and rules; people and social relations are inanimate and objectified.

Stauber doesn't mention the labor market, but it is precisely here that people learn to think of themselves as commodities, and thus to think of others as the same. Is this not a great part of the sickness of life in the U.S? Would a "socialism" that does not deal with this be worth having? Marx would certainly think not.

Socialism does not simply end private ownership of the means of production; equally important, it eliminates commodity production, replacing impersonal market forces with conscious social control (planning) of the economy. Socialism is production for use or it is not socialism at all. It seems to me that Stauber implicitly accepts the current consciousness as a given, setting up a system which perpetuates rather than changes it.

Alienation and democracy.

As John H. Brown has pointed out (*ITT*, May 31), in order to be socialist a society must solve the problem of alienation. This can only be done by maximizing control of the economy. In Stauber's conception, economic efficiency dictates that directors of public investment banks "hire and fire the top management of corporations, all with the sole aim of maximizing their own profits." Who appoints directors of public banks, which are "owned" by local governments and regulated by the national government, is anybody's guess. Even if local elected officials appoint these directors, this kind of two-stage-removed economic democracy is no democracy at all. Further, if work alienation is to be countered, and Stauber gives no indication it is, a firm's employees must continuously engage in the management process. Of course there are huge problems involved in implementing such a democratic system, but least important of all is the rationale Stauber uses for his market system in the first place: There is a great deal of evidence that greater participation and control by workers means higher productivity. It seems to me that

Stauber's socialism actually incorporates the worst of both the Yugoslavian system—commitment to the market—and the Soviet system—bureaucratic, hierarchical management structures.

The realm of freedom.

As Marx said, the true realm of freedom "begins only where labor which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases"; it is a sphere of life where "the development of human energy...is an end in itself." Where Marx, and the majority of socialists down to the present, have erred was in conceiving this realm of freedom as based on a superabundant, fully-automated society. Nevertheless, contrary to the implication of Stauber's articles, life in socialist society would be all about human growth not economic efficiency.

To sum up, socialism in my view must embody four fundamental characteristics: (1) Social ownership of the means of production, (2) production for use, not the market, (3) maximum participation and direct democracy wherever feasible in all spheres of life, and (4) commitment to human growth not productive growth. This, of course, must be understood as an ultimate goal which is undoubtedly beyond our lifetimes. Of shorter-run and more immediate importance are the transition to socialism, the transition to the transition and so on. But in order to know how to get there we need to know where it is we want to go.

Natural limits.

I think Stauber might reply: "Your concept of socialism cannot work because it is not at least as economically efficient as capitalism." My rejoinder is that the market system cannot work because its emphasis on capitalist-defined economic efficiency violates long-run laws of ecological and energy efficiency that are becoming of paramount importance in our time.

There are three fundamental principles we have learned (or, rather, are beginning to learn) from the ecological and physical sciences:

(1) The ecosphere is a unified, delicate web of life which has evolved to its present dynamic equilibrium over the course of several billions of years and is to be tampered with—and everything humans do (especially at the present stage of economic development) is potential tampering—only with the greatest caution and reserve. Its specific capacity to withstand human pressure is unknown but assuredly finite.

(2) Useful work (as defined in physics) is carried out only at the expense of net increases in entropy; that is, decreases in the long-term ability of the earth to support life (second law of thermodynamics); and therefore,

(3) There are limits to the absolute size, thus the growth, of economic production and also to the longevity of human econ-

omic activity on this planet. From the point of view of either eco-catastrophe or entropy, the more we insist on producing today, the fewer our tomorrows are likely to be.

I cannot stress enough that socialists (especially Marxists) must come to terms with the fact that these principles represent the most advanced scientific thought available. Despite Engels and the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, the second law of thermodynamics is not an idealist conception.

The capitalist criteria of economic efficiency endorsed by Stauber boil down to the allocation of economic resources so as to maintain a maximum sustainable long-run economic growth path. Here Stauber's analysis would seem consistent with the traditional socialist emphasis on rapid accumulation, superabundance of material goods, and maximum leisure time achieved through capital and energy-intensive, automated production processes.

It is important to have some notion of the history of this discussion. Marx spent the greatest portion of his *Theories of Surplus Value*, part II, castigating David Ricardo for his insistence that there were limits to the economic exploitation of the earth. Ricardo foresaw that the ultimate barrier to economic growth would be the rising costs of placing ever-greater demands on a finite planet. This would increase the return (rent) to those who owned a valuable piece of the earth (landowners) at the expense of capitalist profit. The falling rate of profit would eventually bring a halt to capital accumulation and the economy would enter a permanent "stationary state."

Marx saw a barrier to capitalist economic growth but not to economic growth in general. Everything from the ruin of agricultural soil to the falling tendency of the rate of profit was strictly due to internal contradictions of capitalism having nothing to do with natural limits. Socialists today frequently pick up this attitude to blame the (static) profit-motive of monopoly corporations for energy difficulties and pollution. This view is dangerously close to the mainstream economic perspective that while market economies (including market "socialism") cannot handle such relatively unimportant "externalities," it is up to the state to carry out the merely technical task of "internalizing" environmental costs.

Thus socialists encourage (and reflect) popular beliefs that environmental considerations are not a crucial issue and the energy crisis is simply due to a corporate conspiracy to withhold supplies and jack up profits. These attitudes make a socialism that works for people and nature more difficult to achieve by aiding and abetting the impossible "American Dream" of endless affluence. The only socialism that can work for us is a socialism of the stationary state.

John Hardesty is professor of economics, San Diego State University, California.

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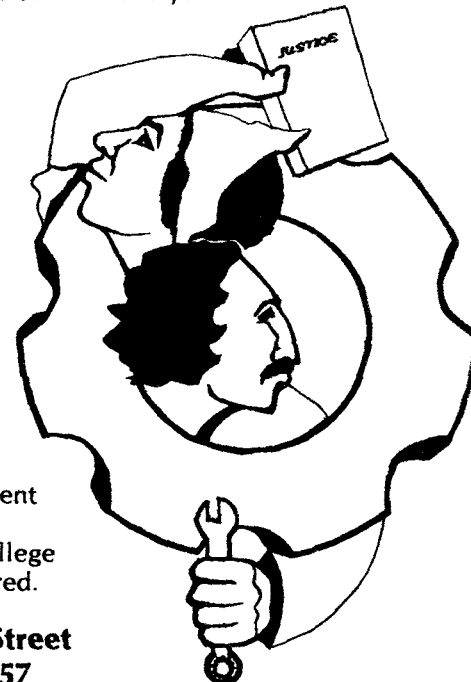
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Burt Wilson

Remaining public control of airwaves threatened

The Communications Act of 1934 affirmed that the airwaves belong to the public and those who use them should operate in the public interest. But Congress will soon be considering a bill that would turn over the public airwaves to private broadcasting interests completely.

The legislation, HR-13015, dubbed the Communications Act of 1978 in order to give it instant importance, is authored by Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D-Calif.), Chairman of the House Communications Subcommittee. The bill is intended to be monumental—both in its scope and as a tribute to Van Deerlin's service in Congress.

Significantly, neither the public nor the broadcasting industry was involved in drafting this potential landmark legislation. It arrived on the congressional scene after a year's preparation during which time few outside of Van Deerlin's office knew what was going on.

Why change the law now? Van Deerlin's office offers the excuse that the 1934 act is "too vague" as to government standards concerning the "public convenience and necessity" under which broadcasters have been operating and that it's time now to let "market forces" determine the future of the airwaves.

In short, it means a wholesale sell-out of the public interest to capitalist forces.

On the surface, HR-13015 appears to treat both public and private interests equally. Henry Geller, former Chief Counsel for the Federal Communications Commission and now President Carter's advisor on telecommunications, has called the bill "courageous legislation." Indeed, certain sections hit private interests hard while others appear to promote the public interest. But observers say the true test will come during the bill's two-to-four year journey through the congressional labyrinth where the trade-offs will have a tough time surviving intense lobbying from powerful broadcasting interests.

Central to the legislation (and the basis on which the entire bill should be opposed) are provisions to turn over radio and TV frequencies to the broadcasters who now are merely licensed to use them.

Radio broadcasters, for example, must currently go through a license renewal

process every three years and their privilege of operating on a frequency can be challenged by the public. HR-13015 would grant radio stations a license-in-perpetuity. Such a license would be subject to a petition for revocation at any time, but only on criminal grounds such as fraud, running a lottery or using foul language. The broadcasters would not be held accountable to the public interest.

If HR-13015 passes, the U.S. will be the only country to abdicate complete control of the public airwaves to private enterprise.

New applications for radio stations would be selected and awarded by a vague "lottery" system, eliminating competitive hearings.

TV broadcasters would be granted five-year licenses for two terms and after ten years would receive a license-in-perpetuity. They, too, would be subject to petitions for revocation, but neglect of programming would not be deemed sufficient cause.

Sec. 434 of the legislation mandates that TV stations would be obligated to present news, public affairs and local programming "throughout the broadcast day," but critics of the bill say this will be the first clause to bite the dust in the trade-off stage.

One of the more frightful sections reads that broadcasters would have to treat controversial issues in "an equitable manner." Charles M. Firestone, director of the communications law program at UCLA, says, "What they want to do is trade the Fairness Doctrine for a so-called 'equity principle,' but the rewrite conveniently doesn't define that principle."

Appearing at a recent government-sponsored seminar on the bill in Hollywood, Firestone blasted the legislation as "giving away the airways to existing licensees and not maximizing the public's First Amendment interests."

"This bill could affect all of our rights for many, many years to come," Firestone pointed out. According to his analysis, HR-13015 is extremely faulty because:

- broadcasters would not be held accountable to the public;
- it eliminates the ascertainment process;
- there are no guidelines for equal employment opportunities, minority and

Another jarring provision of the bill would allow AT&T to get into the common carrier business in return for a divestiture of its Western Electric affiliate. Critics see the raw power of AT&T as muscle enough to exert an immediate dominance in that industry and effectively eliminate all competition.

One of the most interesting sections of this proposed new Communications Act of 1978—and the one with the most potential for abuse—is Sec. 351 (4), which reads: "The flow of information transmitted across national boundaries should not be restricted by any nation, except to the extent necessary to protect its national security and the personal privacy of its citizens."

Sound familiar? It's the old Nixon dodge—justifying censorship in the name of "national security"—meaning the government can prevent any information it wants from reaching the public.

There's much more. But it's best to write one's representative for a copy of the bill while voicing a concern about the push being assembled to steamroller it through.

It's important that the public not be left out of the debate on this issue. Curiously, even the private sector is having problems. In a recent meeting of critics of the bill in Los Angeles, actress Kathy Nolan, a member of the prestigious Carnegie Commission on Public Broadcasting—a private commission that is fond of bypassing and excluding its critics—said, "We're being frozen out!"

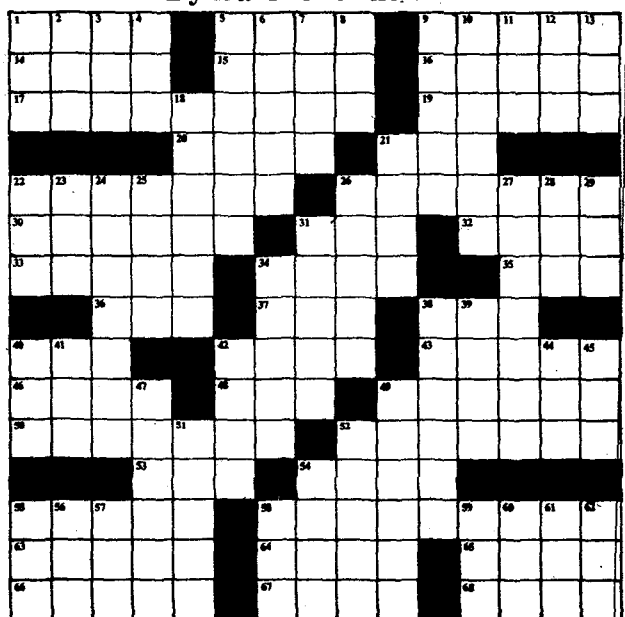
Opposition to the bill is being coordinated by the Telecommunications Consumer Coalition, 256 Washington St., Mt. Vernon, NY 10550. Also, the National Citizens Communications Lobby, 1028 Connecticut Ave., Washington, DC 20036.

If HR-13015 passes, the U.S. will be the only country in the world to abdicate complete control of the public airwaves to private enterprise in the name of democracy.

Burt Wilson is chairperson of the Los Angeles chapter of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and a member of the National Task Force for Better Broadcasting.

Who am I? (No. 1)

By David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Fuss
- 5 Applaud
- 9 FATHER OF 17 ACROSS
- 14 Bard of _____
- 15 Seek's partner
- 16 Tube, game or Hebrides
- 17 '71 Oscar winner
- 19 Requires
- 20 Falsehoods
- 21 East German initials
- 22 BAREFOOT SCREEN HUSBAND
- 26 SCREEN LOVER, AND FAMILY
- 30 Stroke
- 31 Egg layer
- 32 Leap or quinoctial
- 33 Bard jobs
- 34 _____ of tears
- 35 Baseball stat.
- 36 Ottoman governor
- 37 A collection

Down:

- 38 Prefix for metric or bar
- 40 Kind of rule
- 42 Scent
- 43 Laors arduously
- 46 _____de-sac
- 48 Battle of Hastings date minus LXIV
- 49 Seasickness
- 50 WHERE 26 ACROSS CAME HOME FROM
- 52 PLAYWRIGHT PLAYED BY 17 ACROSS
- 53 Nixon's Ziegler
- 54 Pen name of Viaud
- 55 BROTHER OF 17 ACROSS
- 58 HUSBAND OF 17 ACROSS
- 63 Kind of roller
- 64 Author of *A Death in the Family*
- 64 Music halls
- 66 Warfare units
- 67 Wartime ally of U.S.A.
- 68 OFFICER SCREEN HUSBAND

Down:

- 1 Mahal
- 2 Gametes
- 3 CO-STAR IN '71 FILM, TO FRIENDS
- 4 *Uno's* English equivalent
- 5 "Bare, ruined _____"
- 6 Assembled (with up)
- 7 Does arithmetic procedure
- 8 Pod unit
- 9 Asian language
- 10 '70s issue
- 11 Birmingham, as seen from Mobile: Abbr.
- 12 Accountant's color
- 13 Relative of wks.
- 18 Downy
- 21 Past
- 22 New G.I.: Abbr.
- 23 Corn form
- 24 Basketball term
- 25 Precedes covert or sole
- 26 Pertaining to the soft palate
- 27 Valor
- 28 Something picked up
- 29 _____ Lanka
- 31 SITE OF CONTROVERSIAL VISIT BY 17 ACROSS
- 34 FORMER HUSBAND OF 17 ACROSS
- 38 Its capital is Roma
- 39 Type of flood
- 40 Magna Carta date minus CX
- 41 Answer to *monsieur*
- 42 Asian gulf
- 44 Grassland
- 45 Clemente or Jose
- 47 Winning or losing
- 49 Lying beneath the earth's surface
- 51 Standards
- 52 Tepees, e.g.
- 54 Oregon sights
- 55 Wintertime in L.A.
- 56 Airport abbr.
- 57 Pin number
- 58 Greek letter
- 59 Hebrew letter
- 60 Followed HST
- 61 Suffix for auction or profit
- 62 No-no gal, for: ort

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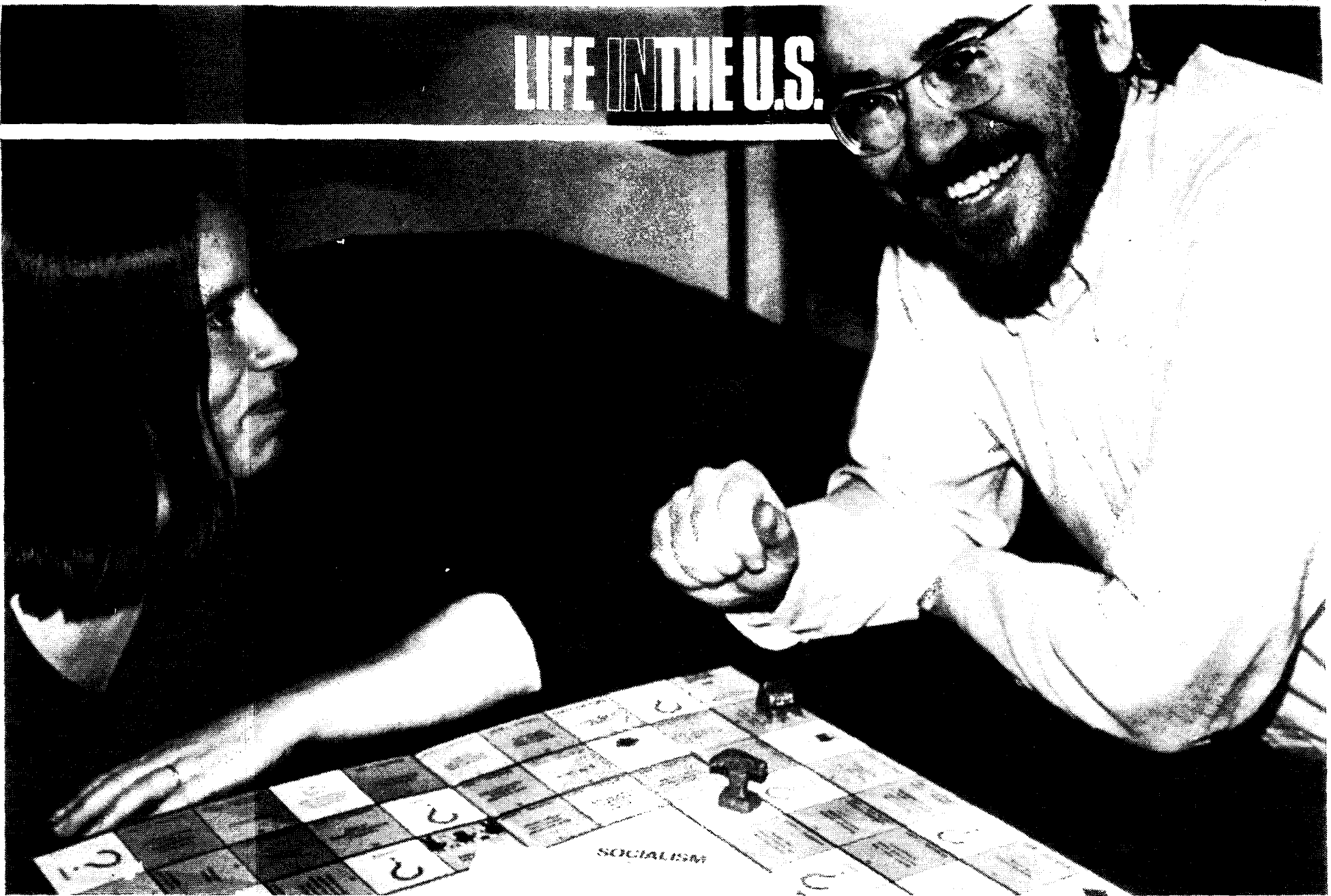
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

Paule and Bertell Ollman playing *CLASS STRUGGLE*.

GAMES

Class Struggle is good clean fun

Using the marketplace and a popular format, Ollman has launched an ironic form of Marxist education.

The legend of the new game *Class Struggle* spreads. The inventor—Bertell Ollman, professor of politics at New York University and author of the highly respected book *Alienation: Marx's Concept of Man in Modern Society*—devoted seven years to perfecting his creation. Since last May, when he started selling it, the game has gained an international reputation. The first 5,000 copies have sold out and 25,000 more are being printed.

The game's impact has only begun. It's been successfully tested in numerous classrooms. A Socialist Party study group testified that they learned a great deal from playing it. Major bookstores that never before handled games now display it in windows next to novels and scholarly books. Italian and German firms are negotiating for marketing rights in Europe.

Why is there so much interest in an American game of class-struggle when so little talk of class struggle goes on in American life? One answer is that the game is ingenious, original, and entertaining. It takes political cliché and represents it in a colorful, engaging manner. Using the business world's marketplace and a format derived from mass culture, Ollman has launched an ironic form of Marxist education to disseminate socialist thought.

In readable language, the game makes clear the nearly invisible class forces that create everyday life. This is no mean task, given the academic character of Marxism in America. The game's popular presentation of class struggle is rich in humor and optimism as well as hard reality.

One chance card for the Capitalist class has the rich man's daughter insisting on

eloping with the garbage man, so the upset capitalist misses a turn wondering what he'll tell the neighbors.

More seriously, the game's rules acknowledge the superior position of the capitalists, and they are given certain advantages. Capitalists go first, and they can assign to Workers the distracting task of handing out plus and minus points, the assets and debits accumulated in the game by each side.

Chance cards and board squares allow Capitalists their full array of control devices—sexism and racism, drugs, spectator sports and mass education.

The Workers are rewarded for fighting back. They gain assets by forming trade unions, organizing rent strikes, setting up an independent political party and uniting around issues of race and sex.

As an introductory course on Marxism designed as a board game, *Class Struggle* is openly and palatably didactic. Individual players play not for themselves, but rather as representatives of a class. The two major ones, Capitalists and Workers are supplemented by four minor ones—Farmers, Small Businesspeople, Professionals, and Students. Alliances between classes are helpful in amassing points and winning the game. Only the Capitalists or the Workers can win the game. The minor classes can win only in alliance with one of the two major classes.

A chance throw of the dice determines who will represent what class, much the same way our birth determines what class we'll become part of. With class identities set, we're ready to wind our way through the 84 squares leading to the last of six major confrontations, Revolution!

Rolling the dice, playing the game.

I played *Class Struggle* twice with Ollman. Both times, his throw of the dice made him the Capitalists, while both times I was the Workers. We first played with the Beginners' Rules, and then went on to the Full Rules. The most complex rules offer more subtle analyses of class strategies and alliances, with increased penalties

and rewards for pursuing victory.

In our first game, Ollman won by only one point, considered a narrow victory. The game attempts to reflect the differing degrees of historical dominance of one class by another. There are smashing victories and narrow defeats.

In the second game, I was determined to win for the working class. Paule Ollman and her sister represented the four minor classes, and neither would ally with me. The minor classes operated quite independently of the two major ones, and for a while it looked as though they would accumulate more assets than either of us, and like the regime of Napoleon III in France, by-pass Capitalists and Workers and seize the state.

One of the most interesting moments was when Paule Ollman explained why she (as the Farmers) refused to ally with me (the Workers). Seeing the world through the eyes of an independent producer, she decided she did not want to live in a socialist workers' state. This projection of real consciousness is encouraged by the game. Her decision hurt both of us. It weakened the Workers as well as the Farmers.

Initially, I fell far behind after a bad run of the dice, but after rolling double after double I caught up with the Capitalist marker, just three steps short of the ominous skull-and-crossbones square, Number 81, Nuclear War. There we were, Workers and Capitalists, breathing down each other's necks. Ollman told me that if he shot a three, he'd land on Nuclear War and blow up the world, ending the game. Sure enough, up came a three, and it all ended suddenly.

In a way it was frighteningly appropriate, since the minor classes refused to strengthen the position of the Workers and Capitalists who were running neck-and-neck. Only the ruling class can use nuclear weapons, and it is required to use them if the Capitalist marker lands on 81. If the Workers get there first, they prevent the Capitalists from initiating a holocaust for the rest of the game.

The dramatic end of the game raised some provoking questions and debate among us. I felt that the rules concerning 81, Nuclear War, made the end too mechanical. Nuclear war is a last-resort, drastic and desperate act. The ruling class has many intermediate means of control, from TV to the job market. The secret of its domination lies in the invisibility of its class-repression. Nuclear war should not be automatic; it should be permitted only after a number of conditions have been met.

Also, there is a tendency in the game to portray class struggle in a linear fashion. We go from turn to turn, adding assets and subtracting debits. Yet, real class struggle is a conditional back-and-forth movement. Each event conditions the shape of the next phase, while itself being conditioned by what came before. The one-by-one collection of pluses and minuses gives class struggle an incremental character and deemphasizes the conditional quality of advances and setbacks.

The game could be strengthened by making more of the situations "conditional"—if workers set up their own newspaper, they would be in better position to finance a radio station, and if they had a radio station, then when the confrontation over elections occurred they could elect more of their own representatives.

Ollman has included a number of linked situations that allow flexibility in the making of class alliances, and enable the chance cards to offset each other's advantage. When Workers occupy a factory, they force the Capitalists to miss a turn; when Capitalists successfully use red-baiting, they gain an asset to save for a future confrontation. More of this would be good.

Ollman welcomes criticism in the refinement of the game. The intelligence behind his original conception has already made *Class Struggle* an ingenious aid in the spread of socialist thought. How far can it go? Here is tongue-in-cheek square 82: "Government orders the destruction of all copies of dangerous game *Class Struggle*." It may be too late, however. ■

Youngstown steel

Continued from page 3.

Tube by Lykes. Opponents predicted that Lykes would not modernize Sheet and Tube sufficiently to keep it competitive, but instead pay off debts and pay out dividends. This is precisely what happened.

Opponents of the Lykes-LTV merger fear a repeat of the 1969 fiasco and further steel layoffs. Already LTV has warned that it will close the 1,100-employee Brier Hill works in Youngstown shortly after the merger is formalized.

For the backers of community-worker ownership, Bell's merger approval was unwelcome because it did not set any stringent conditions on the merger as he could—and perhaps should—have done under the failing company provision. "Approval of the merger has significantly hurt the Ecumenical Coalition's efforts," said Gar Alperovitz, director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives. "The final report will reflect its impact. The Carter administration, in the action of the Attorney General, has in effect denied the new firm some of the markets it formerly served." In negotiations with the Ecumenical Coalition on July 27, the new head of the LTV steel operations not only balked at the Coalition's request to buy the closed mill for \$1 or scrap value but also refused to commit the company to purchase steel from a reopened Campbell Works.

Finding stable, satisfactory markets for the Campbell steel is the most important task facing the Coalition. In order to get loan guarantees from the federal government the Coalition must demonstrate its ability to secure commercial markets and arrange for federal procurements. The preliminary plan assumes that 90 percent of the \$473 million needed to modernize the Campbell mill with electric furnaces will be provided through loans. That is an unusually high level of indebtedness for U.S. steel firms. And the loans can not be obtained without government guarantees that the debt will be repaid.

Why did Bell approve the merger? Nobody speaks with certainty, but it is obvious that steel industry leaders have looked for mergers and closing down of old factories as a solution to their problems. And the Carter administration has been anxious to win "business confidence."

The United Steelworkers union played an ambivalent role. Initially it insisted that the Attorney General set conditions on the merger that would protect steelworker jobs and give the community-worker project a good chance for success. Yet when Bell approved the merger, the Steelworkers gave their blessing to it.

People working with the Ecumenical Coalition suspect that the Steelworkers international leadership, never an enthusiastic backer of the worker-community ownership plan, decided that the merger was necessary to protect members' pensions.

Now the local communities are in a bind. If one of them should sue to block the merger, it will put the community-worker ownership backers at odds with the Steelworkers. Nobody wants that.

Can people make a difference?

For the past six months the Mahoning Valley itself has been the focus of efforts to build support for the community-worker plan. Starting in February, people in the Youngstown area and supporters across the country, primarily churches, were asked to open Save Our Valley savings accounts in local financial institutions. Now the local drive has been closed with nearly 4,000 accounts and close to \$4 million. Much of it came in nickel and dime accounts, but the Presbyterians put in \$300,000, the Lordstown United Autoworkers deposited \$40,000 and other groups put up sizeable sums.

Impressive as those gestures may be, the campaign still brought far fewer accounts and dollars than Ecumenical Coalition leaders had expected. "I'm disappointed as hell with the people who sat

on their asses and didn't do a damn thing," Father Edward Stanton, staff director of the Coalition, told a community meeting recently.

Although most Mahoning Valley residents undoubtedly wish the plan well, the Save Our Valley campaign ran into numerous obstacles. The savings accounts confused people or seemed like "tricky flim-flam." They entailed no commitment to buy stock, could be closed at any time but were intended as a show of "earnest money." Yet there were more profound difficulties.

"I think people just don't believe they can make a difference," Rev. Ed Weisheimer, a Coalition steering committee member, said. "Also the business community never came out and championed the cause. The international union did not support it. Some local presidents did, but it was against the tide, over the big shots. With such heavy federal involvement some worried that it was a takeover, and some business leaders claimed it's too much federal government—fearing that the free enterprise economy is eroding and worrying that there's a socialist agenda attached to it."

If not labeled socialist, often because of the involvement of Alperovitz and lawyer Staughton Lynd, the plan was damned as sentimental and soft-headed. Religious leaders became the main vocal advocates. And Gerald Dickey, recording secretary at the Brier Hill local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, said, "People didn't trust the clergy. What did they know about steel? They're a bunch of do-gooders who don't know business."

Steelworkers who took part in community meetings on methods of increasing productivity demonstrated a knowledge and initiative that could easily bring a productivity jump of 2 percent a year or more under worker-community ownership. ("Hell, we could do that much on our coffee break," one said.) Yet many steelworkers are so accustomed to simply doing their job, following orders as much as necessary and collecting a paycheck, that they are not prepared to think about running a steel mill. "The average individual doesn't understand the complexity of the plant," Sam Myers, a 44-year-old veteran of steel work, said. "For them it's coming to work at a certain hour and going home again."

"The ones currently working are fully employed," he added, "and they lack compassion for their fellow workers who are laid off. And the unemployed have been getting full benefits for a year. They don't think ahead to the mass unemployment—with crime, domestic problems, kids not being able to go to school."

However, the effects of the mill closing will be harder to ignore this fall. Unemployment benefits and Trade Relief Assistance, which have given over \$200 a week to most victims of the Campbell abandonment, will run out starting in September.

Since politicians, businesspeople and upper level union officials have often given only polite backing to the Ecumenical Coalition's plan, other proposals have distracted from a community focus on reopening the Campbell Works. Various groups pin hopes on a new federal steel research center, construction of a large, jointly owned blast furnace serving several factories, opening a 4,600-worker aircraft factory or planned diversification of industry.

The Coalition's proposal is, however, distinct in its effort to address a fundamental political and moral issue raised by the Lykes shutdown. As a Youngstown resident said at a recent community meeting, "This plan gives people the possibility of some control of the community's economic destiny."

A community corporation.

The Coalition's Save Our Valley campaign at times resembles a nationalist—in this case, localist—alliance of classes against a colonial power—in this case, an absentee corporate owner without any interest in steel or Youngstown as a

community. As a result, there are tensions within the diverse alliance that showed up during a discussion of possible corporate structure for the plan.

The National Center's draft proposal for the new corporation was presented to the community at the end of July. It called for establishment of a for-profit operating corporation. Common voting stock would be held by a non-profit community corporation, an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP)—each guaranteed one-third of the votes—and a bloc of investors from the local community. The community corporation, governed by representatives of major local constituencies, would also channel earnings into other local economic development. Investors from outside the area could buy preferred, non-voting stock.

Although an employee stock ownership plan does not in itself guarantee a change in work relations inside the mill, its advocates argue that such ownership provides a framework that would encourage new ways of organizing mill work that would give workers more direct control on the job.

The voting blocs had been arranged to guarantee that "the corporate policies of this major steel producer will no longer be made without consideration of the broader interests and concerns of the community," according to the proposal. But businessmen and local attorneys during the discussion of corporate structure continually complained that guaranteeing two-thirds of the voting rights to workers and the community corporation "doesn't make the investment very attractive. It essentially disenfranchises the investor as investor."

Proponents replied that investors should be anxious to put in their money: they would probably earn a respectable 14 percent on their equity; they would still have more control than in most corporations; the other voting blocs would also be interested in making a profit; there would be unusually strong government

backing; and, besides, "if this plan doesn't work, the whole Valley will be in economic trouble."

Nevertheless, the conflict between community and investor control—what might be seen as socially modified profit interest versus pure profit interest—has already emerged. "If even at this point the voice of the private investor is enough to chip away at community and worker control," one Coalition insider says, "where will we be five years from now?"

Some local people are more enthusiastic about investing, not simply for the dividends but also for their stake in the community's vitality. "If I was a member of ESOP," one steelworker said as he left the community meeting, "I'd invest every nickel I had even if I lost money, because at least I'd be buying myself a job."

Steve Zuzga, Mike Vodilko's son-in-law, agrees. A 24-year-old steelworker laid off when Campbell Works closed, he's been looking desperately for work ever since. "If the mill doesn't open, there will be a lot of trouble," he says. "When you put that many people on the streets, there's bound to be trouble. With no money coming in there are a lot of marriage problems, too. I've come home at times and found my wife crying, asking what will we do for a job. Sheet and Tube and Lykes have brought a lot of pain on this community. There's a lot of anguish. They're really mad."

"With community ownership the people would invest money and time. They'd make a better product. We'd have better working conditions. It was a greasy, slimy mess everywhere before, even in the cafeteria. And the machines were all broke down. If workers saw money reinvested in Sheet and Tube, the guys would work. If the men saw working conditions improve, so would their work attitude and morale. Community ownership—I'm all for it. The guys that worked there would be all for it."

Will Carter be all for it, too? ■

Ruth Messinger

Continued from page 24.

of photographic exhibits of Jewish life in New York, and Saul Steinberg's famous Manhattan-centric poster.

To the question, "Do you consider yourself a socialist?" she responds in the direct Messinger manner: "Yes."

Messinger has taken her directness to the streets, television, and the press. "She's very visible," said community board member Doris Rosenblum. "Other politicians have particular points to make and come around. Ruth does it regularly, and she's not afraid to speak out."

At the rally against Westway, a 4.2-mile highway planned for the West Side of Manhattan that was opposed by Mayor Koch as a \$1.20 billion "disaster" (until his election), she was careful to offer thanks before opinions. She thanks the groups of people who organize, leaflet and make possible the grassroots understructure on which the Anti-Westway movement is built. She thanks the 20th precinct for their cooperation, reads a telegram of support from Stiller and Meara, and finally introduces Bella Abzug, who endorsed Ruth in the Council election.

"We've often liked to compare her to Bella in the way she's managed to attract people to her," said Steve Max, who heads the Coalition Against the Westway Express. "She's strong and knowledgeable and a very warm person also."

"My God," groaned CONTINUE's Eugene Halpern, "she makes Bella look like Ronnie Reagan."

Hearing the comparison to Bella, Ruth is first flattered and then philosophical. "I don't consider politics a career," she said, looking back on the gains, losses, and acquired knowledge of the last six months. "I assume I'll work for the next 30 years, but I don't know at what. I expect I'll be clear and firm on the issues, but I don't know if that will be in elected office. Two years ago the major question became, 'How much of this can you transfer into democratic office?...'"

When to say no.

The whole process of politics, when to



compromise, when to say "no," has been one of the hardest things for Ruth. Of the resolutions in the Council, some are uncompromisingly clear, like supporting gay rights, the Transfer Amendment in Congress or the trade-in of Westway funds for money to improve mass transit. And some are harder, like the resolution passed in March on the PLO raid in Israel, which called on the U.S. government "to isolate and condemn such terrorist organizations." Ruth abstained. "It's one thing to put yourself against terrorism," she explained, "another to make international policy. I made a lot of people angry with that one."

Ruth, who is now separated from her husband, has three children who have campaigned for her and share some of her qualities. They're veterans of their mother's community activism. They adjust to the council schedule that sometimes takes precedence over chicken pox, supper and vacation week-ends. "We had plans to go away Memorial Day weekend," she smiled while remembering, "and I was supposed to meet the kids at the train. But the council hadn't completed its vote on the Emergency Financial Control Board, so I had to say I'd meet them later. And my older son told me, 'Just as long as you vote against it.'"

Barbara Bedway is a free-lance writer in New York. ■

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records

NONAAH

Roscoe Mitchell
(Nessa Records)

Chuck Nessa of Nessa Records began recording Roscoe Mitchell for the Delmark label. His legendary '60s *Sound* album has recently been re-released as part of Delmark's Modern Jazz Series.

This series contains much of the early work of artists from the Association for the Advancement of Creative Music (AACM), a musicians' collective in Chicago of which Mitchell was an early associate. Mitchell also recorded for Delmark with the Art Ensemble of Chicago (AEC), playing a variety of reed and percussion instruments. On his latest album, *Nonaah* (a double-record set), he has chosen to return to his original instrument—the alto saxophone.

Why the switch? As Mitchell puts it in the liner notes to *Nonaah*, "It's a very natural time... to return to the alto.... When I used to play one instrument it became part of me, a very natural sort of thing, all the mind's eye had to deal with. When I started to play a lot of instruments, that feeling went away, and I couldn't play anything.... I've briefly moved away from that in this project to return to a particular place on the circle."

Not only is Mitchell featured exclusively on alto on the *Nonaah* album, but several cuts (including one version of the title tune) feature the artist/composer on solo saxophone with no additional instrumentation. Another version of "Nonaah" is scored for a quartet of four altos. It is the highlight of the album, featuring, besides Mitchell himself, Anthony Braxton, Henry Threadgill and Wallace Macmillan.

The music on the album as a whole is a demanding mixture of stark predetermined patterns and totally improvised primal utterances. Like the earlier *Sound* album, it is an experiment in extending the boundaries of music.

In a real sense, Mitchell seeks to demystify music and free us to hear it in its purest form. The result is a vehicle for both the creative expression of the artist/composer, and, perhaps more importantly, taps into the dialectic of universal energy formation and transformation. Its emotional directness is refreshing in an era when canned Muzak has become a marketable substitute for real music because of its dulling and unobtrusive effect on the listener. Mitchell's music, no matter what

you think of it, cannot be ignored.

The music of Roscoe Mitchell is at war with the product mentality of today's commercial music industry. Its subversive power lies in its purity of form and expression. Like much revolutionary art, it is part battle cry, part healing force, part futuristic vision.

—Ron Sakolsky
(Nessa Records,
5404 N. Kimball, Chicago,
IL 60625.)

Ron Sakolsky has a bi-monthly jazz show on WSSR, public radio station in Springfield, Ill.

BIRTHRIGHT

Hamiet Bluiett
(India Navigation)

The music on this album exemplifies two of the characteristics that its tradition values: clarity of thought and a sense of the continuity of time.

First, the setting. Hamiet Bluiett, without a doubt the leading baritone saxophonist of today, born in Brooklyn, Ill., was a key builder of the Black Artists Group in St. Louis in the late '60s and early '70s; later gigged with the Charles Mingus band; currently works in New York with other leading innovators like David Murray, Oliver Lake and Julius Hemphill. *Birthright*, his second album on India Navigation, is a solo blues concert, consisting of seven tunes he wrote for members of his family and people who have influenced him forcefully.

Back to the two characteristics. First, clarity of thought:

Hamiet Bluiett gets more dimensions of sound out of a baritone than anyone who plays the instrument. He can, for instance, play with full authority in high octaves very few players can even touch. You will not hear the staggering runs you might expect. He doesn't need them. The musical ideas that flow through his head are driven by the force and feeling that come from deep absorption in rhythm. They

are so clear that there is next to no waste motion, no wasted energy, no wasted speech.

Each phrase builds off the previous one, takes it an additional step forward, and/or to a new area. For focusing the mind in improvisation means that the imagination—that which thinks of how to form a note or phrase so that it adds something—is constantly productive.

A sense of the continuity of time: understanding how events that come one after another are connected. This shows in his tunes and in his use of the blues tradition. Take, for instance, the opening, "Doll Baby aka Song Service," dedicated to his grandmother who used to love to go to the song service. It is a simple blues melody, played with full appreciation of the beauty and meaning it contains all by itself, then taken into the realms of the past decade without that initial sense being lost.

This is neither the conventional blues nor "new music." It is Great Black Music, an entire tradition that has carried certain concepts forward as its core. Bluiett works the simple old phrases and innovative new ones together so that there is really no distinction. It all adds up to a very free music—free because it permits him to give so much meaning to the basic and the essential, not because it lacks restrictions.

A sense of the continuity of time: digging into the rhythm of a phrase by repeating it a few times, he takes it a little further each time until he has explored all kinds of territories of the composition, all the while not more than one big resonant note away from resolving it to where it began.

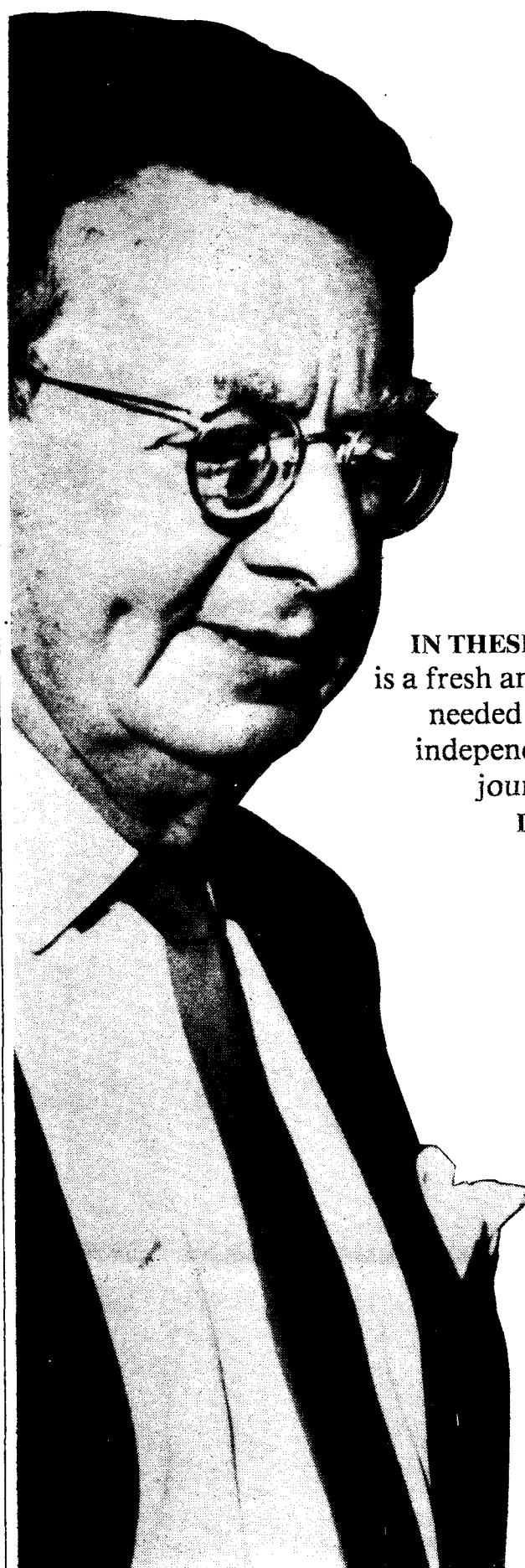
This is today's music. These are serious times and complex times. To a unique degree they require being simultaneously on top of fundamentals and aware of infinite possibilities. By today's music it is not meant that it projects the confusion and chaos of the present world; rather that it offers some tools for creating something positive in its midst.

—John Kordalewski

John Kordalewski has a jazz program on WGTB in Washington, D.C.



Hamiet Bluiett, baritone



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Roscoe
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FOREIGN

Mid East filmfest ready to tour

The first Middle Eastern Film Festival has completed an outstandingly successful run in New York City and is being booked for national distribution later this year.

The goal of its organizers: "to move Americans beyond their simplistic vision of the conflict and into the complex social and political realities of these societies" was achieved not only by the showing of some 30 feature films and documentaries, but even more by discussions with many of the filmmakers—discussions that were continued by small groups around tables in cafes near the theater and in the homes of Americans and Mid Easterners who attended.

Entries from Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Oman, Syria, South Yemen, Tunisia and the Palestine Cinema Unit were organized into four categories, to each of which a whole day was devoted. Possibly the most popular was Women in the Middle East, which included not only films about, but also films by women of Egypt, Israel and Iran. The other categories were Struggle for Social Change, Tradition in Transition, and Battle Scars: Arabs and Israelis.

Nearly every film exposed the repercussions of modernization, and several were, for one reason or another, unsuccessful on their home grounds despite critical praise. For example, *Paratroopers* (Yehudah Ne'eman), which won the Israeli Film Festival's second prize in 1977. It deals with the inability of a misfit at

bootcamp to adjust to the rigors of army life and exposes the Israelis' moral dilemma over the human price exacted for security. It did not do well in Israel and the American Jewish Community has been reluctant to distribute it here.

The Cycle (Darius Mehrjiu, Iran, 1974) has been shelved for several years at home, presumably because of its grim picture of the illegal trafficking in blood by which some of the poor, sick and elderly attempt to survive. *The Cement Jungle* (Mohammed Chamin, Syria, 1978), on the other hand, is a box-office success, despite its attack on corruption in industry and government. It does not draw on its country's unique cultural heritage so much as the Western tradition of



THE SEALED SOIL.

blond and blue-jeaned good guys vs. fat and swarthy bad guys, and a plat line like *All the President's Men*.

Style does conform to content in *The Sealed Soil* (Marva Nabili, Iran, 1977), a feminist film made by Iran's only woman director, which deals with the emotional breakdown of a young woman under pressure common to women worldwide.

Egypt's Layla Abou-Saif's documentary, *Where Is My Freedom?* chronicles the history and impact of feminism in her country in interviews with working women who have succeeded despite oppressive laws, social mores and religious traditions. (Abou-Saif's film is one of two Egyptian selections. Others were solicited by the festival, but the embassy in Wash-

Continued on next page.



Gazing at imperialism in *THE CHESS PLAYERS*.

Ray's elegy for India

THE CHESS PLAYERS

Written and directed by Satiyajit Ray
Distributed by Creative Films International

In the opening scene of Satiyajit Ray's *The Chess Players*, two Indian noblemen are sitting cross-legged over an ornate chess set. A pudgy, jeweled hand arches lazily toward the board, pauses, then grasps and moves an ivory piece.

Fat with leisure, absorbed in their private contest, distracted only by family disputes, the players are fourth-generation descendants of Buhran-al-Mulk, the warrior who drove the Mongols out of India a century earlier. They have inherited the spoils of that conquest, but none of their ancestor's integrity or strength.

The conflict on the chess board has no apparent beginning or end, only an interminable middle. The players lift their head occa-

sionally, heave resigned sighs and sink back into the game. As the gentry pursues its amusement, history hurries by.

Ray, who is India's most prominent film director, has chosen this vehicle to depict the apex of 19th century British imperialism and the fall of the last independent kingdom in India. Yet the film never accelerates the stately pace of its beginning. Yards of footage are devoted to the pomp and glitter of the monarchy, the noblemen's luxurious lives, the sobriety of British colonial officers.

But the film does more than probe the foibles of ruling classes. It becomes clear that the primary characters—Indian or English—are no more the authors of their actions than the sculptured chessmen. For Ray, history does not move with the sweep of a sceptor.

The Indian king is a figurehead. (Power has long ago been

ceded to the imperial authority.) When British troops mass outside the gates of the capital city, he can only recite tragic verse. The British Resident General also lags behind pre-determined events, carrying out the orders of his queen. The fall of Oudh is anticlimactic. The immediate drama is wholly symbolic, the film a kind of postlude to the conquest of India.

The Chess Players ends much as it began. The gamesmen transport their contest—and their whole social order—away from the bothersome city. In the last frames, the board is set for another match. A servant is attending to hookahs and the aristocratic appetites. The chess players are frozen in a reddish light. On the horizon, British soldiers are marching, unopposed, into the capital city of Oudh.

—Mac Margolis
Mac Margolis is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass.

CLASSIFIED

NOTICE is hereby given, pursuant to "An Act in relation to the use of an assumed name in the conduct or transaction of business in this State," as amended, that a certificate was filed by the undersigned with the County Clerk of Cook County, file No. K61526 on the 6th of July 1978 under the assumed name of Post-Dates with place of business located at P.O. Box 48563, Niles, Illinois 60648. The true name and residence address of owner is P. Rice, 922 W. Ainslie, Chicago, IL 60640.

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LOS ANGELES. Ben Margolis, delegate of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, recently returned from Vietnam, will speak on "The Agonies of Victory." Friday, Aug. 18, 8 pm, Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St. Sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild and the New American Movement. Donation \$2, \$1 unemployed.

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MEETING PLACE

IN THESE TIMES will publish classified ads at a special rate (\$6 for 40 words) in this section. We reserve the right to reject any ad submitted.

SOCIALIST GENTLEMAN (34) moving from Washington D.C. to San Francisco Sept. 1 seeks a lady companion to share the experience and the expense. Please call Art at (703) 698-8731.

HELP WANTED

WANTED: Managing editor for the Rochester Patriot, a semi-monthly newspaper covering local investigative reporting, consumer news, and non-rhetorical coverage of progressive and community issues. Duties: mostly investigative reporting, some editing, layout, working with volunteers. Substantive pay, health benefits. Send resume, writing samples to 215 Alexander St., Rochester, NY 14607.

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DOMESTIC



Perry King and Meg Foster as the sex-crossed lovers.

An honest and a dishonest film about gays

A DIFFERENT STORY

Screenplay by Henry Olek
Directed by Paul Aaron
With Perry King and Meg Foster
Paramount Pictures, Rated PG

WORD IS OUT

Produced by Peter Adair
The Mariposa Film Group
Rated PG

A Different Story is the misnomer of the year. Only one thing distinguishes this film from dozens of other light comedies cut in the boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-gets-girl pattern. That is that the boy and girl in question are homosexuals at the start of their affair.

One shot of the "real thing," however, and their same-gender entanglements are quickly discarded in favor of the homey comforts of straight living. The greater part of the film tracks them through the usual romantic ups and downs: seduction, marriage, pregnancy, parenthood, boredom, infidelity, reunion, with a rags-to-riches angle thrown in for good measure.

The film toys with the problem of role-reversal within the marriage, but more in the manner of old situation comedies than anything else. It ultimately disintegrates into the more familiar stereotypes of male/breadwinner and female/housewife.

Perry King and Meg Foster, the sex-crossed lovers, are engaging and competent in roles that require a fair amount of emotional volatility and comedic finesse. (They are also young, white, slim, beautiful, and not very "different.")

Unfortunately, the one attempt this movie makes to be exceptional is also the reason it must be viewed more dimly than if it were simply another romantic comedy.

If *A Different Story* were being shown in some future society where homosexuality was nothing more than a preference, the tale about two ex-gay people who find straight love to be the better way would bear no particular sanction. To the present movie-going public, however, the film's not-so-subtle message becomes a fairly odious pitch for "normalcy."

There is an obvious sense of re-

lief when these two charming characters abandon their wayward ways (as low-grade trick to an unsavory older man, and nursemaid-psychiatrist to a severely neurotic woman) for something more fulfilling and socially acceptable. Not one positive gay relationship is presented to counter-balance this image. In terms of what we are shown, it would be a contradiction.

This one-sidedness reduces the script to an insidious allegory of Good (read straight) over Gay, and overshadows its more likeable aspects.

Should you already belong in that above-mentioned, unbiased, future society, it is entirely possible to see and enjoy *A Different Story*. Keep in mind, however, that it is a film that Anita Bryant could love.

* * *

For a more enlightened view of the subject (and one that Anita would loathe), try to catch *Word Is Out*, currently making the rounds of U.S. art houses. The film is not, as one might fear, a shabbily compiled, self-congratulatory documentary about righteous homosexuals clapping each other on the back. It is an intelligent and sympathetically conducted series of interviews with 28 gay people. The men and women whom the Mariposa film group have chosen to present are remarkable for the wide variety and styles of life they represent; but even more astonishing is the articulateness and sincerity with which they face the camera and tell their (different) stories.

Although as a visual experience the parade of talking heads may prove a bit tiresome, what they have to say is sometimes enlightening, occasionally sad, often humorous and always interesting.

Word Is Out is a thoughtful film about people who struggled with the problems of being "different" and overcame them enough to be willing to share the experience with those unknown others who may need to draw on their courage, or who may simply take pleasure in their vibrant company. The result is an exhilarating movie that you need not be gay to appreciate.

—P. Hertel

Mid East Films

Continued from previous page.

ington refused to lend its holdings possibly because of the recent crackdown on Egyptian dissidents and the Egyptian/Israeli stalemate.)

Igaal Niddam's documentary, *We Are All Jewish Arabs in Israel* (1976) drew a disproportionate amount of attention because of its thesis: that Sephardic Jews, who make up 65 percent of the population but are barely represented in the government, could serve as a bridge between Israel and the Arab world. Niddam's Jewish Arab interviewees not only express no hostility toward Pal-

estinians, but admit they enjoy working with them—an attitude that runs counter to the attitude of many critics who claim that Arab Jews are the most hostile toward the Arab countries.

Overflow crowds at all sessions of the Festival and wide participation in the discussions—formal and informal—testify to the hunger of Americans for more and better information about the people and problems of the area. "There is," as Ilan Ziv, one of the Festival's organizers, pointed out, "more to the Mid East than conflict." —Diane Winston

Diane Winston is a free-lance writer in New York City.

For booking information contact Ilan Ziv, Impact Films, 200 Park Ave. So., New York, NY 10003.



Don't let *The Swarm* settle on you

THE SWARM

Directed and Produced by Irwin Allen
Written by Stirling Silliphant
Warner Brothers

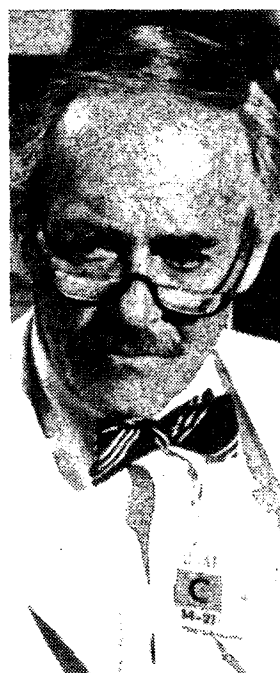
It's smart to avoid telling people whether they should see or not see a film, because once that's done, the critic becomes part of the product and the commercial process that created it. In certain cases such caution has to be thrown out the window. *The Swarm* is one of them.

Don't waste your time or your money. Stay in front of your television's test signal if you have no other way to kill time.

Irwin Allen has always held his audiences in contempt. He thinks they're ignorant with the intelligence of a gullible five-year-old and tries to pander to this bracket. He made money from *The Poseidon Adventure* and from *Towering Inferno*. *The Swarm* is based on the same premise: fear of mass annihilation.

A large mass of African killer bees has decided to gobble up the state of Texas. A large star-studded cast is left in their wake. A few survive to eliminate the terror, but the concentration is on death and destruction. I don't mind cheap thrill movies, but this is the silliest film I have seen in a long time.

It's hard to find a film with no redeeming qualities. *The Swarm* has one. It is a primer on what not to do, on what to avoid if you ever want to make movies. The script confirms Stirling Silliphant's position as Hollywood's greatest hack writer. The film is poorly directed, edited and mounted. The cast is completely wasted. Competent actors like Henry Fonda, Richard Widmark and Michael Caine give some of the worst performances of their careers. The bees aren't scary because the effects are poorly arranged and do nothing to an audience's sensation of being consumed by such a horror.



Above: Jose Ferrer
Below: Henry Fonda

I guess I'm saying that you should see the movie because it can teach you something. That may be my own dilemma, but be forewarned. *The Swarm* only wants to mug you for the price of admission.

—Joe Heumann
Joe Heumann reviews films and records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Good News Messenger to NY City Council

By Barbara Bedway

SIGNS OF LEGISLATIVE LIFE HAVE been detected in New York City's sleeping body, the city council. For years it was the tacit duty of a Democratic council member to rubberstamp the mayor in this one-party city, and if the council had little power as a governing body, individual members could acquire power by voting the party line. But "the almost irrelevant city council," as Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul described it in *The Abuse of Power*, is slowly undergoing a transformation with newly elected members like Ruth Messenger, who had no political club backing and who spent more than 200 hours on the campaign trail standing in front of subway stations and organizing building-by-building on Manhattan's Upper West Side.

Less than six months into her first term, Messenger has provoked rare criticism for a politician: "She is completely dedicated to the poor," complained one angry brownstone owner in her district. Her strongest critics are those who wish she would let up a little, especially on the issue of housing. In the past the council has voted rent hikes for rent-controlled buildings, but Messenger has been aggressively challenging that.

In the next year, New York City will take title to more than 100,000 dwelling units that have been abandoned by their landlords, often leaving the tenants without services or security. The municipal government has become the largest slumlord in the city. When ten housing groups from around the city came to Messenger to inquire about their new landlord, the city, she brought in other council members and groups and formed the task Force on City-Owned Property. They concluded that "the massive management problem" was also "an opportunity for creative housing and neighborhood action." Now, the broadened coalition of 23 tenant and community groups (like Interfaith Adopt-a-Building) work with elected officials to develop options for tenant and community management. A campaign is underway to advise people what to do when their building becomes city-owned.

"Ruth wants to use her office as a liaison between grassroots, self-help groups and the government," said staff member Sandy Bayer. The flow of communication between her and these groups makes her seem less like a politician than a community activist who happens to have some political power.

Women spark council reform.

But she works hard at her politics. The council used to be famous for its erratic meeting schedule and its confusing array of committees and bills. Most constituents wondered what a council member did to earn a \$20,000 salary. Messenger, along with councilwoman Jane Trichter, went line-by-line over the council rules, formed another Messenger coalition consisting of members from all the boroughs, and won 21 procedural changes that helped define committee jurisdictions and enabled the sponsor of a bill to demand a vote in committee on the legislation 120 days after introduction. A proposal for council members to control the council's operating budget of \$3 million lost, leaving it in the control of majority leader Tom Cuite. A member since 1958, Cuite cautiously admitted that these changes have "helped streamline the legislative machinery." After years of council inertia, it was a coalition of women who sparked this reform. And it didn't just happen to be women, acknowledged Messenger. Sometimes it's easier to work with women.



"I was impressed that there was a shared orientation among the women to social services and welfare issues. And that all the women members of the council are full-time. Before, a council member seemed delighted to have a part-time position where you just dropped in and picked up patronage for your community." But she is still dissatisfied with the mostly rubberstamp quality of the council as a governing body.

In a *Village Voice* article entitled "How the People of New York Lost Self-Government," Messenger and council member Sheldon Leffler castigated the mayor, the state legislature, and the city council for allowing the Emergency Financial Control Board, the city's fiscal monitor since 1975, to continue its reign as "an unnecessarily intrusive, colonial, and long-lived control mechanism." When she and other council members drafted a resolution calling for a board more accountable to the public (the appointed body has never included a woman, black, Spanish-speaking or union member, and the majority of the members do not live in the city), it was shelved by the council leadership.

"The rules changes were easy, because we agreed on procedure, not substance. But I don't see a real will on the part of a majority of members to support the council as an independent body, separate from the mayor."

One morning recently she rushed into her office with a copy of the city's proposed budget open in her hands, and was immediately surrounded by staff members who gathered around her as she sat down. Her head of dark brown hair braided into a bun bobbed as she bent over the budget, and a finger stabbed rapidly at the columns of figures.

"Look for things that don't make any sense," she told the huddled staff mem-

After years of city council inertia it was a Messenger coalition of women that finally sparked major reform.

bers. "\$130,000 for maintenance repairs? \$75,000 in independent contracts? Now who gets those?"

Oklahoma same as New York.

Her solid training in looking for things that don't make any sense began in Oklahoma, where she ran the Child Welfare department at the age of 24, while her husband, Eli, was the chief medical officer at the Federal reformatory. "Oklahoma has as much to do with my being in politics as anything." She pauses to consider the connections between the Middle West and New York. "Living in Oklahoma gave me a tremendous opportunity for study of issues in racism, classism and oppression. Although blacks there have a very low social status they have a well-defined lower-working-class status and they do very well, because it's the Indians who are dumped on. It's all really the same as New York. People get screwed everywhere. In her office there are four maps of New York City, a favorite Lillian Hellman quote, and posters: posters from China, American Indian posters, posters

Continued on page 20.